

LITUANUS

LITHUANIAN COLLEGIATE QUARTERLY

The International Status of Lithuania

by Dr. DOMAS KRIVICKAS

A Philosophy of the Closed Mind

by VYTAUTAS DONIELA

Agriculture under Soviet Control

by EDMUND R. PADVAISKAS

Petras Kiaulėnas and the Art of Modern Color

by GORDON BROWN

Vincas Kudirka

by Dr. VINCAS MACIŪNAS

Dawn of Free Criticism

by VINCAS TRUMPA



PETRAS KIAULĖNAS

STILL LIFE

LITUANUS

Vol. 4, No. 4, December, 1958

*Published quarterly by: LITHUANIAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION, INC.
916 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn 21, N. Y.*

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Second Class postage paid at Brooklyn, New York

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Published in March, June, September and December
Subscription price \$2.00 per year. Single copy 50 cents.





ASPECTS OF CO-EXISTENCE

Nothing gives better competence to express an opinion on a problem than experience. To most of the captive European nations the problem of co-existence with Russia is as old as the state of Russia itself, and its neighborhood to our nations. One needs only to recall the main events of the long history of these neighborly relations to conclude that they always were marked by a constant struggle of our nations against Russian expansionism and, at times, even Russian megalomania.

As far as Lithuania is concerned, her neighborly relationship with Russia has been that of a big beast and its unfortunate prey for hundreds of years. Through centuries Lithuania had to fight for its sheer national existence against Russification. Russian megalomania in its present Bolshevik form even had plans to exterminate the soul of the Lithuanian nation. Political independence was possible only in the wake of a collapse of the political power of the men in the Kremlin and the weakening of their physical means of subjugation and annihilation.

Lithuanians could never escape this relationship, its nature and its consequences. They have always been Russia's neighbors since early times and shall remain her neighbors as long as their nation inhabits the territory given her by destiny. Neighborly co-existence with Russia is their fate. They have to live with it and in it.

This means that the independence of their nation and the liberty of the Lithuanian individuals is a matter of constant struggle and fight — when lost it is to be regained, when achieved it is to be preserved against the permanent Russian danger. Whereas co-existence in this sense is an inescapable truth, the main target and aim of Lithuanian statesmanship is to keep the Russian neighbor at a distance. Lithuania never has been happy with the co-existence and shall always be happier with the distance.

We believe the recent history of our nation would have been much, much happier if we had been able properly to realize not only the power and scope of the Russian danger, but also the inherent advantages which lay in our neighborly and friendly relationship with other nations. If some of us saw them, they did not see them in time. If others of us did not see them at all, it was because they fell prey to the spirit of the times.

Is there any real co-existence at all between East and West? Let us for a short while think along the lines of legal thought.

We will not dwell in detail on the profound differences between Eastern and Western legal thought. Where, as in the East, ideology centers around the state — its power and selfishness — the individual — his liberty and dignity — has no place in law; at the most he is restricted to a nominal and formal place. Glorification of dictatorship and of unrestricted state sovereignty are the fundamentals of Eastern law. Despotic arbitrariness in dealings with the West is the result. There can be no sound reconciliation with Western legal thought.

As to international law, two different systems exist today: the Eastern system and the Western system, both based on different and antagonistic ideologies. The Russian school of law frankly admits that there can be no lasting co-operation between these two systems.

According to this school, the relationship between Eastern or (as they call it) "Socialist" international law and Western international law can be only that of a temporary compromise, lasting only until the day of the complete victory of world Communism over Capitalism and final replacement of "bourgeois" international law by the inter-Soviet law all over the world.

Until then, Western international law is considered a catalogue of rules and legal notions and institutions of which those useful to the political aims of Bolshevism are accepted and of which those detrimental or of no advantage are rejected — all according to the merits of the individual case and of the political situation of the day.

To the East, law is only a means to implement political tasks, of which the security of the Soviet Union is the most important. To quote Koshevnikov, one of the theorists of the Eastern school: "The Socialist State has no relationship with modern, i.e., Western, international law. In this question the Soviet Union



PETRAS KIAULENAS

FLOWERS

bases its action exclusively on the requirements of its own security. Those institutions of international law which conform with this task are accepted and implemented by the Soviet Union, those which do not conform, are rejected."

It is easy to realize why any change affecting the security and selfish interests of the Soviet Union automatically results in a change of the Russian position towards Western international law and its various institutions in general and to its own obligations towards the West, in particular. This is why the basic international rule of "PACTA SUNT SERVANDA" is of so little importance to the East, whereas the legal institution of the "CLAUSULA REBUS SIC STANTIBUS" is of such highly practical value to the East. This is why all legal obligations of the East are always made under the reservation that they last only as long as the interest prevails which it is supposed to serve.

To mention one example of the practical workings of the relationship between Eastern and Western legal thought and the arbitrary selection of what is considered valuable and acceptable to the East and what is not, we shall refer to the Russian translation of Oppenheim's well-known Treatise on International Law and Professor Krylov's (former member of the International Court of Justice at the Hague) introduction to the translation. He says that some parts of the Treatise have been omitted in the Russian translation because "they are of no interest to the Soviet reader." Which parts have been omitted? Among others, those which criticize the Soviet position towards Western international law and those which are connected with the Western legal view as to Russia's annexation of the Baltic States.

There exists not the slightest intention on the part of the East to discuss even the possibility of a reconciliation of Eastern and Western legal thought. Intolerance and strict rejection of the faintest approach is the rule. Here again we see the famous Iron Curtain. We see part of the legal side of an ideology which not only refuses to recognize a real co-existence with the West, but even strictly prohibits it.

THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF LITHUANIA

DR. DOMAS KRIVICKAS

In 1921, after the re-establishment of an independent Lithuanian state, Lithuania was admitted into the League of Nations, and in the years 1921-1922 she was granted *de jure* recognition by many leading countries. Thus Lithuania became a fullfledged member of the international community. On June 15, 1940, however, Lithuania was occupied by the Red Army, and on August 3 she was incorporated into the Soviet Union. On August 11, foreign representatives were informed by the government of the Soviet Union that it was now representing Lithuania in international affairs, and that all foreign embassies and consulates in Lithuania must be closed by August 25. As a result of this action and because of the existing state of occupation, embassies and consulates were closed on the following dates: Switzerland, August 31; United States, September 5; Hungary October 4, etc.¹

The principal justification advanced by the Soviet Union for this incorporation is the so-called will of the Lithuanian people, as expressed in the election of a People's Diet and in that Diet's subsequent request that the "Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic" be incorporated into the Soviet Union. That this title to possession, fabricated by the Soviet Union itself, has no legal foundation is evident, and there is no need to discuss the question anew. Suffice it to note that a committee of the United States Congress that investigated the incorporation of the Baltic states into the U.S.S.R. stated, "The evidence is overwhelming and conclusive that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were forcibly occupied and illegally annexed by the U.S.S.R. Any claims by the U.S.S.R. that the elections conducted by them in July, 1940 were free and voluntary or that the resolutions adopted by the resulting parliaments petitioning for recognition as a Soviet Republic were legal are false and without foundation in fact."²

Except among Communist writers, the view prevails that the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union was a unilateral action on the Soviet Union's part, an act of annexation. In recent times, especially on the American continent, the doctrine has been advanced that any act of annexation is illegal, since such annexation of the whole or a part of a nation's territory is contrary to the principle of national self-determination. This doctrine has been universally recognized since 1890 on the American continent, where it is known as the Stimson Doctrine. In the treaty of Saavedra-Lamas of October 10, 1933, that doctrine is expressed as follows: "Art. II—They declare that as between the High Contracting Parties territorial questions must not be settled by violence, and that they

will not recognize any territorial arrangement which is not obtained by pacific means, nor the validity of an occupation or acquisition of territory that may be brought about by force."³

This pact is now adhered to by 21 American states and 11 non-American states. It would seem that even Lenin's definition of annexation was influenced by these ideas. "In accordance with the legal conscience of democracy in general and especially of the working class, the Government considers as annexation or arbitrary appropriation of foreign lands any incorporation into a large or strong state of a small or weak nation without that nation's clear and definite desire, irrespective of what manner of violence may be employed in effecting the incorporation, irrespective of how developed or undeveloped may be the nation that is incorporated with violence or that is retained by force within the limits of that state and, finally, irrespective of whether the incorporated nation is in Europe or in some distant land.

"If any nation is retained within the limits of another state by force, if, contrary to its desire — irrespective of whether this desire is expressed in the press, at peoples meetings, in party resolutions or in uprisings against national servitude — this nation is not accorded the right to decide the problem of the form of the state structure of said nation by a free vote, implying the complete withdrawal of the troops of the incorporating or merely strong nation, then the incorporation is an annexation, i.e., an act of arbitrary appropriation and violence"⁴.

Thus, an act of annexation is an illegal act, an act of violence. This same view is expressed in a resolution of the League of Nations adopted on March 11, 1932, which obliged the members not to recognize any treaty or situation that was achieved in a manner contrary to the stipulations of the League of Nations or the Pact of Paris. This resolution became the basis of the decision at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials holding that the various annexations made by Germany were not only illegal but also punishable. "It was contended before the Tribunal that the annexation of Austria was justified by the strong desire expressed in many quarters for the union of Austria and Germany; that there were many matters in common between the two peoples that made this union desirable; and that in the result the object was achieved without bloodshed.

These matters, even if true, are really immaterial, for the facts plainly prove that the methods employed to achieve the object were those of an aggressor. The ultimate factor was

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the armed might of Germany ready to be used if any resistance was encountered."⁵

But there is a different view of annexation which holds that in spite of the illegality of an annexation, it can be legalized by the *de jure* recognition of leading powers. According to the first view, it is the duty of states to refuse to recognize annexation; according to the second, each state is free to recognize the new situation or to refuse to recognize it. The followers of the second theory maintain that in international practice the will of the state is the deciding factor, and that an illegal situation may be legalized by the granting of recognition.⁶ Bearing the above remarks in mind, we may examine the practice in relation to the annexation of Lithuania and the conclusions that may be drawn from this practice.

The United States. Once the fate of Lithuania became apparent, the United States, faithful to the doctrine of nonrecognition, on July 24, 1940, condemned the Soviet act through Sumner Welles: "The policy of this Government is universally known. The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other sovereign state, however weak... The United States will continue to stand by these principles, because of the conviction of the American people that unless the doctrine in which these principles are inherent once again governs the relations between nations, the rule of reason, of justice, and of law — in other words, the basis of modern civilization itself — cannot be preserved."⁷

From among the many statements made by United States officials on the nonrecognition of the incorporation of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union, we will cite the following more significant ones:

a) When representatives of the American Lithuanian Council visited President Roosevelt on October 15, 1940, to present a statement on the Lithuanian problem, the President noted: "...The address mentioned that Lithuania had lost its independence. That is a mistake. The independence of Lithuania is not lost but only put temporarily aside."⁸

b) In 1945 the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) issued a directive on the question of repatriation that stated, with regard to Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians: "Up to the present the United States and British Governments have not formally recognized any territorial change brought about by the present war. Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians... will not be returned to their native districts, repatriated to the Soviet Union or

transferred to the U.S.S.R. zone in Germany unless they specially claim Soviet citizenship"⁹

c) When during the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were mentioned as parts of the Soviet Union, the chief United States prosecutor, Robert H. Jackson, stated in a lengthy note that he agreed to the formulation in order to avoid delay, but that this did not signify that the United States recognized Soviet sovereignty over those countries.¹⁰

d) At a foreign ministers' conference in Paris in 1946, Molotov attempted to introduce representatives of the so-called Baltic Soviet republics into the delegation as their "Ministers for Foreign Affairs". Representatives of the Western powers replied that these people might participate in the conference as representatives of the Soviet Union but not of the Baltic states.¹¹

e) A U.S. State Department document of March 26, 1948, addressed to the governors of the various states, is of great importance in this question of the Baltic states; it specifically notes that citizens of the Baltic countries can be represented only by the diplomatic and consular agencies of those countries and not by the Soviet Union.¹²

f) Finally, when in 1954 the Kersten Committee began its investigation of the incorporation of the Baltic states into the U.S.S.R., Secretary of State John Foster Dulles stated: "The United States, for its part, maintains the diplomatic recognition which it extended in 1922 to the three Baltic nations. We continue to deal with their diplomatic and consular representatives who served the last independent governments of these states."¹³

In view of this United States position, Lithuanian diplomatic and consular representatives continue to function and to possess all the prerogatives usually accorded such representatives. United States courts base their decisions on this position. For example, on December 1, 1953, Court of Claims Judge J. Whitaker, in dismissing plaintiff's petition, based on the 1940 nationalization decrees of the L.S.S.R., for the transfer of ownership of a Lithuanian ship requisitioned in a U.S. port in 1942, noted: "The Executive Department of our Government has refused to recognize the incorporation of Lithuania into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has refused to recognize the validity of any decrees issued by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or of the People's Commissars of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania relative to persons and property within the territory of Lithuania. That action having been taken by the Executive Department of our Government, the courts have also uniformly refused to recognize the validity of such decrees. For example, see *The Maret*, 3 Cir., 145 F. 2d 431, 433; *Latvian State Cargo and Passenger S.S. Line v. McGrath*, 188 F. 2d 1000; *The Florida*, 5 Cir., 133 F. 2d 719. We fully concur in these opinions."¹⁴

United States courts continue to recognize the right of Lithuanian consuls to protect the interests of Lithuanian citizens in American courts and to deny that right to Soviet consuls. For example, in the case of Mike Shaskus a demand was made that the Lithuanian consul-ge-

neral be evicted from the court; the court turned down the demand on the grounds that the United States has, by treaty, granted *de jure* recognition to the Lithuanian government, and hence the Lithuanian consul is entitled to protect the rights of its citizens.¹⁵ In the Adler's Estate case, the court rejected the powers of attorney submitted to it that had been signed by a notary in Riga and later certified by the so-called Ministry of Justice in occupied Latvia and the Soviet Union's consul-general in New York, stating that since the State Department does not recognize the incorporation of Latvia into the U.S.S.R., nor the legality of any of the acts or decrees of that regime, and added, "As a corollary of this principle, a court may not give effect to an act of an unrecognized government, for by so doing it would tacitly recognize the government, invade the domain of the political department and weaken its position. If, therefore, the court may not give effect to an act of an unrecognized government, it may not give effect to an act of an official acting in behalf of that regime."¹⁶

Great Britain. The attitude of Great Britain toward the annexation of the Baltic states was not as strict as that of the United States. Nevertheless, immediately after the annexation the Baltic states' assets in Great Britain were frozen and the legations continued to function as before. Later, during the war, Great Britain signed a treaty with the Soviet Union extending *de facto* recognition to the incorporation. On May 28, 1942, the names of the Baltic states' representatives in the *Diplomat's Annual* listings were transferred to an appendix with this note: "List of Persons no longer included in the Diplomatic List but still accepted by H.M. Government as Personally Enjoying Certain Diplomatic Courtesies." No indication was given of the countries the people represented. This position has been maintained to the present day; the *Diplomat's Annual* still carries an appendix listing three ministers plenipotentiary of unnamed states. This extraordinary procedure has not, however, been followed by the Foreign Office List, which carries the Baltic diplomatic missions in the normal manner.¹⁷

Great Britain's representative at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials made essentially the same reservation that was made by the United States prosecutor: that the listing of the Baltic states in the indictment as part of the Soviet Union had no relation to the British position on the question of Soviet sovereignty in the Baltic states.¹⁸

The British position was clearly formulated in the case of *Tallina Laeveuehisus v. Tallina Shipping and Estonian Shipping Line*, in which the court solicited the opinion of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The reply stated: "1. H.M. Government recognise the Government of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic to be *de facto* Government of Estonia, but does not recognize it as *de jure* Government of Estonia. 2. H.M. Government recognise that Estonia has *de facto* entered the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but have not recognized this *de jure*. 3. H.M. Government recognise that the Republic of Estonia as constituted prior to June, 1940, has

ceased *de facto* to have any effective existence."¹⁹ What was here said about Estonia is *mutatis mutandis* applicable to Lithuania.

When, on February 15, 1954, the question of demanding from the Soviet Union reparations for losses suffered by British nationals in the Baltic states was raised, Dodds-Parker, a Foreign Ministry official, replied: "No, Sir. Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to take any steps which would imply or constitute *de jure* recognition of the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states."²⁰

Although Great Britain has recognized the annexation *de facto*, British courts, like United States courts, have refused to recognize the validity of Soviet decrees respecting the Baltic states. Also the Baltic states' diplomatic missions continue to function as before and the Foreign Ministry of Great Britain maintains diplomatic ties with them.²¹ There is little difference in this respect between the British and the American practices. "It may thus be asked what exactly *de facto* recognition by Britain of the annexation of the Baltic States really signifies," writes K. Marek. "It may well be that the British Government has resorted to this particular form of recognition in order to acknowledge the existence of undoubted facts on the one hand, while registering its disapproval of these facts on the other. In view of the continued recognition of, and dealing with, the Baltic Legations in London, it can hardly mean more than this. The recognition of facts which have taken place in the Baltic States on the one hand, and the refusal to recognize these facts *de jure* as well as the continued recognition of the London Legations, on the other, leads to the conclusion that Great Britain still recognizes the existence of the Baltic States, even though they have ceased to exercise *de facto* authority in their territories."²² Marek quotes H. Lauterpacht, a noted British jurist, in support of his conclusions. Lauterpacht has this to say about *de facto* recognition: "There would seem to be full scope for *de facto* recognition in situations where conditions other than effectiveness of power are a legitimate consideration. This applies in particular to recognition of a new international title which has its origin in an international wrong, as was the case of the Italian annexation of Abyssinia in 1936. In such cases *de facto* recognition, which takes into account the actuality of power while expressly refusing to admit its legality in the field of international law, is a proper device for combining disapproval of illegal action with the requirements of international intercourse."²³

The members of the British Commonwealth have for the most part adopted the same attitude as Great Britain.

Canada. On May 17, 1954, when the question was raised in the Canadian Parliament, Benedickson, an official of the Canadian Foreign Ministry, stated: "There has been no occasion when the government of Canada considered it necessary to reaffirm or withdraw formally *de jure* recognition of these states." However, in 1947, in the course of an action in Canada's Exchequer Court, the Secretary of State for Internal Affairs informed the court that the government of Canada recognized that "Estonia has



PETRAS KIAULĖNAS

STILL LIFE

de facto entered the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but does not recognize this *de jure*."²⁴ Furthermore, when on March 12, 1948, the Soviet Legation in Canada announced that all former residents of the Klaipėda area should register at the Soviet consulate or embassy, in conformity to a Soviet decree of January 29, 1948, the Canadian government protested the action on the ground that the Canadian government had never granted *de jure* recognition to Lithuania's incorporation.²⁵ A Lithuanian consulate is functioning in Toronto and possesses full rights, but it does not figure in the official lists.

Australia. The government of the Commonwealth of Australia reacted just as Canada did

to Soviet demands that all its citizens register at the Soviet legation. On May 9, 1948, the government told the refugees in Australia under the International Refugee Organization program to disregard the Soviet plea. The statement pointed out that Australia does not recognize the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the Soviet Union.²⁶

Ireland. The position of Ireland was stated in the *Zarins v. Owners* case, which involved the ownership of ships nationalized by Latvia and Estonia after their annexation. The High Court of Ireland reached this conclusion: "That the government of Eire having stated their opinion that the states of Latvia and Estonia were not under

the sovereign independent authority of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the court must treat as nullities the various transactions and documents alleged to have culminated in the alleged sovereignty and purporting to pass the property in those ships.²⁷ When the case reached the Supreme Court, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs stated that Ireland does not recognize, either *de facto* or *de jure*, Soviet sovereignty in Latvia or Estonia.²⁸

France. On August 15, 1940, immediately after the Baltic states were annexed by the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union's representative in France demanded that those states' legations in France be closed. In spite of strong protests by the Baltic legations, they were forced to hand over the keys of the embassies to a prefect, who then gave them to the Soviet embassy.

After the war Baltic representatives asked the French government to permit the renewal of diplomatic and consular activities. However, the request was denied.²⁹ If it might appear from this that France has recognized the annexation, such an interpretation was denied by the French Supreme Court in the case of *Gerbaud v. de Medem*. On January 10, 1951, the court stated: "Considering that no act of international significance has intervened to obliterate the recognition of the Latvian State; that no treaty has intervened to sanction the disappearance of that State as a holder of rights and liable to legal obligations; that the Court of Appeal rightly decided that so long as the Peace Treaty has not determined the fate of Latvia, it is impossible to say that Latvians at present have no nationality."³⁰

We must conclude, then, that the above-mentioned closing of the Baltic legations in France constituted only *de facto* recognition of the annexation. Nevertheless, Baltic representatives in France have only a personal status and maintain no official premises. They are, however, the agents of the diplomatic services of their respective states, and we should note, that in a 1948 audience with the President of France, the Baltic representatives were accorded the courtesies reserved for diplomatic representatives.³¹ Furthermore, with respect to Lithuania, official quarters duly noted the granting of the rank of minister to Dr. S. Bačkys by the chief of the Lithuanian diplomatic services; Dr. Bačkys had represented Lithuania in France prior to 1940.

West Germany. When West Germany was under Allied occupation, its courts maintained positions on the question of the Baltic states coinciding with the position of the occupational government of the respective zone. The position of West Germany itself was clarified only when that state was granted the right of international representation. On April 29, 1953, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany notified the judicial organs of the city of Berlin that it considered Latvia to be still in existence, since neither the German Reich nor the present federal government had ever recognized the annexation of Latvia.³² Also, a circular letter of the Foreign Ministry dated March 2, 1953, states that since the annexation of the Baltic states is not recognized in international law and the

citizens of those states have not become citizens of the Soviet Union, the citizenship of these persons has remained unchanged. Passports issued by the diplomatic and consular services of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are valid so long as they conform to the usual regulations.³³

The functioning of the diplomatic and consular services of the Baltic states was suspended by the government of the German Reich in 1940. And at present the Lithuanian diplomatic service agent who protects Lithuanian interests in Germany, like his counterpart in France, maintains no official premises.

Spain and Portugal. Both Spain and Portugal are members of the Saavedra-Lamas pact. Therefore neither of them can recognize territorial changes accomplished by force. Immediately after the annexation, Portugal's Foreign Ministry announced that it did not recognize the annexation, but it suspended all treaties with the Baltic states so long as the situation remains unresolved.³⁴ Lithuania's representative in France was also the country's representative in Spain, before incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union and it would seem that there are no barriers to a renewal of Lithuanian representation in Spain considering that at the present time Estonia is represented in Spain by her former representative to France.³⁵

The Vatican. The Lithuanian legation here functions just as it did before, with full prerogatives, since the Vatican has not recognized the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union.³⁶

Switzerland. The position of Switzerland in regard to the Baltic states was set forth in a report of the Federal Council in 1946: "The Federal Council has reconsidered the status of the former Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian diplomatic and consular missions and of their personnel. As of the 1st of January, 1941, these missions have not been recognized by the Federal Council. On November 15, 1946, the Federal Council passed a resolution whereby the public property of the above-mentioned Baltic states and also the legation archives located in Switzerland were transferred to the federation under a fiduciary title."³⁷ And so the property of the Baltic states in Switzerland were not transferred to the Soviet Union but assumed in trust by the federal government. In B. Meissner's opinion, this would constitute only *de facto* recognition.³⁷

Sweden. Sweden closed the Baltic legation in 1940. It would seem that Sweden is a clear exception to the already mentioned countries; its actions would indicate that it has granted *de jure* recognition to the incorporation of the Baltic states. However, Swedish courts are not unanimous on the question of the citizenship of Baltic nationals, whom they occasionally treat as persons without citizenship.

The Latin-American States. The Latin-American states, on the basis of international obligations arising from the Saavedra-Lamas pact, do not recognize the annexation of the Baltic states, whose diplomatic and consular legations function as before. Argentina alone in 1948 sus-

* Beginning with January 1959 the title of the chief of the Lithuanian Legation at the Vatican has been changed to that of *gerant d'affaires*.

pended the functioning of the Lithuanian legation until such time as the question of the Baltic states is resolved by the United Nations.³⁵ The Lithuanian delegation was transferred from Argentina to Uruguay, where it continues to function. Furthermore, the Lithuanian consulate in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, was raised to the status of an embassy, and Brazil's Foreign Ministry recognized the grant of the title of Minister to Dr. F. Meier, formerly Lithuanian Charge d'Affairs in Brazil, by the chief of the Lithuanian diplomatic service. Also, a consulate was established in Bogota, Colombia, and on August 25, 1954, the Colombian government accepted the appointment of Stasys Sirutis as consul by the chief of the Lithuanian diplomatic service.

Conclusions to Be Drawn from State Practice. It is evident from this brief survey that the leading states of the Western world, along with many other states, do not recognize the Soviet annexation and continue to maintain relations with the representatives of independent Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. There is a certain gradation in their attitudes, however: In some cases the missions and consulates retain their full functions; in others, they retain their functions with certain limitations, mostly of a protocol nature; while in still others they exist only *de facto*. Therefore, even if we held to the opinion that the illegal annexation of the Baltic states can be legalized and the "original sin" pardoned, so to speak, once the annexation is granted *de jure* recognition, so far this has not happened. In the face of these facts, B. Meissner makes the following conclusions: "An investigation of the attitudes of the several members

of the international community shows that with the exception of several doubtful incidents, a large majority of the sovereign states, led by the leading anti-Communist powers, do not recognize the annexation of the Baltic states *de jure*. In refusing to grant *de jure* recognition to the annexation, the international community has challenged the legality of the Soviet intervention and has refused to justify the annexation, inasmuch as it is illegal. Within the framework of *de facto* recognition, several states have temporarily, and without essential commitment, accepted the situation. In this way, the international juridical personality of the Baltic states was not injured. Since their international personality has not been extinguished, their citizenship, their judicial system and even their material law remain as they were before 1940."³⁶

K. Marek reaches the same conclusion, that a large majority of states still recognize the continuity of the Baltic states. In her opinion, "not international recognition alone which is decisive for the legal continuity of the Baltic States. Such continuity cannot be considered as a result of an arbitrary action on the part of the international community. On the contrary, it conforms to the basic principle of all law, according to which illegal acts should be debarred from producing legal results. In the last resort it is therefore once again the principle *ex iniuria ius non oritur*, which, failing any other protective rule, constitutes the legal basis of the continuity of the Baltic States just as it constituted the legal basis of the survival of Czechoslovakia, Albania, Austria and, possibly, Ethiopia."⁴⁰

Notes:

1. A. Makarov, *Die Eingliederung der Baltischen Staaten in die Sowjetunion*, Zeitschrift fuer auslaendisches oeffentliches Recht und Voelkerrecht, 1941, Nos. 3-4, p. 706.
2. Report of the Select committee to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R.: Third Interim Report, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1954, p. 8.
3. Robert Langer, *Seizure of Territory*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1947, p. 76.
4. *Sobranie Uzakonenii i Rasporiashenii Rabochego i Krestianskego Pravitelstva*, December 1, 1917, No 1.
5. International Military Tribunal, Trial of the Major War Criminals, Vol. XXII, p. 435.
6. F. List, *Voelkerrecht*, Berlin, 1919, p. 91.
7. "Department of State Bulletin," July-December, 1940, Vol. III, p. 48.
8. "Lithuanian Bulletin," No. 3, 1946, p. 32.
9. B. Meissner, *Die Sowjetunion, die Baltischen Staaten und das Voelkerrecht*, Cologne, 1956, pp. 291-292.
10. *Ibid.*
11. K.H. Mattern, *Die Exilregierung*, Tuebingen, 1953, p. 54. Cited from B. Meissner, op. cit., p. 292.
12. "Congressional Record," Vol. XCIV, 1948, p. 6795.
13. Hearings Before the Select Committee to Investigate the Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R., Government Printing Office, Part I, 1954, pp. 3-4.
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34. A. Makarov, op. cit., p. 706.
35. B. Meissner, op. cit. p. 302.
36. K. Marek, op. cit., p. 408.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 409.
38. J. Repečka, op. cit. p. 293.
39. B. Meissner, op. cit., p. 309.
40. K. Marek, op. cit., pp. 412-416.

A PHILOSOPHY OF THE CLOSED MIND

Some Thoughts on Communism

BY VYTAUTAS DONIELA

The following article is an attempt to sketch briefly the mental structure of the kind of society in which all spheres of activity are subordinated to a prevailing official ideology, the kind of society that is called in modern terminology totalitarian. More specifically, the purpose of the article is to consider the particular version of the totalitarian mental structure exemplified by the modern communist state of the Soviet Union.

Any criticism of the communist system that proceeds in piecemeal fashion must necessarily be inadequate. A more comprehensive criticism should strive to lay bare the fundamental presuppositions that are common to or underlie all the forms of totalitarian society. Since the difference between the Western world and the communist states permeates all spheres of human activity—science, politics, culture—it becomes necessary to go to the primary sources of this difference and to examine the radically different mentalities or attitudes to society and the individual's place in it that from the very beginning definitively determine all social activities. We call these fundamental attitudes the *open mind* and the *closed mind*. If we grasp the nature of these two contrary attitudes and the ways in which they necessarily objectify themselves in concrete social situations, we can hope to understand more clearly the present ideological conflict of the twentieth century—and also, for that matter, the flow of the history of ideas from its dim beginnings.

Communism, in elevating an intolerant and comprehensive official view above all discussion and criticism, presents itself as a typical exponent of the closed mind. The Western world, on the contrary, exhibits in its more advanced aspects—such as the primacy of science in the realm of empirically ascertainable knowledge, the predominance of democracy in politics, the recognitions of free creative expression in the field of culture in general—genuine features of the open mind. The communist monism is opposed by the Western pluralism, the claim of one infallible and universally aggressive official view is countered by the claim that any view—provided that it respects other views—has the right to exist.

It is interesting to note that the mental structure of the totalitarian society remains identical in all ages, since it is an expression of this same fundamental attitude of the closed mind. Any difference consists merely in a higher or lower level of technological progress, and is incidental. For whether the man with a new idea is silenced by the tribal witch-doctor or by the priests of the Temple of Ra or by the central executive of the Party, it amounts to the same thing; the fact of the censure is unaltered whether the offender receives the judgment orally in the form of a thrice-sacred curse, or has it delivered to him on a papyrus scroll, or finds it announced in the Party's daily. In any event, the innovator

must suppress his own ideas and submit himself to the decision pronounced by the higher powers, who not only know what everyone must think but also possess the means for ensuring that everyone does think it.

Looking at this identity from a historical point of view, it seems obvious that the communist state as an instance of the totalitarian structure signifies a return not only to the despotism of the ancient Orient but also to the primitive tribal society with its closed set of compulsory beliefs. More generally, totalitarian communism signifies a conscious revolt against the attitude of the open mind and against its accompanying intellectual, political and cultural pluralism, which has rightly been regarded as the outstanding achievement, even the very soul, of Western civilization.

The closed mind, considered in its origin, is a product of the primitive society that is engaged in continuous struggle for survival with both nature and other tribes. The primitive society, if it wishes to preserve its existence or perhaps to expand in the face of the ubiquitous enemy, is forced to demand of its members a total solidarity, a solidarity that extends beyond the division of labor to include the mental sphere, such as participation in traditional thought patterns, and observance of magical rites and taboos, for these are considered just as essential for the tribe's survival and prosperity as the more concrete activities of securing food and fighting. It is important to note that the tribal conventions, magical rites, taboos, etc. are regarded as "truths" which the member of the tribe may not question or challenge, since they are instrumental in contributing to the tribe's well-being. Any deviation is considered a dangerous betrayal, for it undermines the strength of the tribe and therefore amounts to treason. In this way there arises the sanctity of the tribal tradition or, in other words, the supremacy of ideology or official view. This social process brings about at the same time a totalitarian mentality which, though it may at first serve the tribe as a whole, may be turned to selfish ends by the more enterprising members of the society, thus giving rise to a division between rulers and ruled that is not functional or based on capacity for leadership but is absolute and dynastic.

The supremacy of ideology means the supremacy of subjectivity over objectivity. For the

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tribal ideology consists of the set of beliefs that are linked, correctly or incorrectly, with the tribe's survival. But since some of these beliefs are simply false, a conflict is bound to arise between subjectivity (ideology, tradition, a set of "self-evident" beliefs) and objectivity (the facts as they really are); this conflict arises the moment a traditional belief is seen to be false and yet must be accepted as a "truth" because it forms part of the not-to-be-questioned ideology. In a primitive society there exists the constant possibility of a clash between the official view, which is necessarily subjective and partly false because of the natural limitations of the human understanding or perspectivity of knowledge, and the intentional or accidental disclosure of the facts as they really are. More concretely, there is tension and the possibility of conflict between the advocates of the official view and those who have perceived its insufficiency or falsity, who understand that not all traditional ceremonies are efficacious, that some conventions are harmful and some beliefs false. It is a struggle between conformity and the spirit of progress. The conflict discloses two fundamental attitudes: The closed mind adheres rigidly to the official view, to the preconceived subjective beliefs; the open mind chooses truth, refuses to see facts otherwise than as they are, or at least as they appear to be. The closed mind signifies subjectivity, the open mind signifies objectivity. When the closed mind predominates, the principle is established that objectivity takes precedence to subjectivity, that facts are superior to traditional notions. Once the authority on ideology breaks down, three fields of human activity become possible: The absence of a preconceived and binding world-view makes possible an objective consideration of the facts as they really are (i. e., scientific inquiry); the absence of a political authority makes possible self-rule (i. e., democracy); and the absence of a comprehensive official view makes possible free cultural expression, freedom of conscience and sincere philosophical thought.

* * *

The closed mind is characterized by an attitude of suspicion toward anything novel and foreign, whereas the open mind looks at others with "curiosity", with a love of knowledge, with the idea of learning all that can be learned from the views and practices of others. Cooperation takes the place of suspicion and toleration of intolerance. It does not follow, of course, that the possessors of open minds may not have firm views of their own; the point is rather that they are tolerant, and abstain in principle from imposing their views on others. For they are aware of the essential perspectivity and limitations of human knowledge and therefore are not afraid to admit that "I may be wrong and you may be right." The society of the open mind, being pluralistic, is dynamic and progressive; the society of the closed mind is static. It is no accident of history that the empires of the ancient Orient exhibit a high degree of cultural uniformity and even stagnation, whereas the open-minded Greeks cannot be excelled in their creative genius.

The open mind revolts against the absoluteness of the official ideology. A society that naturally sets up an arbitrary yet not-to-be-questioned ide-

ology is a society of the closed mind; it must suppress free inquiry, shackle cultural expression and impose political absolutism. The open mind, on the contrary, refuses to see in political authority anything but the mere functional representation of the people themselves and at the same time holds that there exists no insurmountable barrier between rulers and ruled and that everyone has the chance of becoming an administrator given the needed ability and insight. When the open mind looks at the world, it recognizes that any preconceived ideas are only hypothetical and must be tested with reference to the facts. The open mind, being objective, paves the way for science. Since the open mind has no ideology compulsory to all, every member of society has the right to express his views and to make his contribution to the solving of problems. The open mind is an attitude of cooperation. At the same time, any view is open to criticism, just as any view has the right to be critical of other views. Tradition and conventions, too, fall within the range of criticism. (For are they not the work of other individuals?) Again, of course, it does not follow that everything must actually be criticized. The principle is a formal one: There is no view that cannot **potentially** be criticized.

The closed mind proceeds in a radically different way. It sets up an ideology above all criticism and must then necessarily suppress all views that conflict with it. As a result, scientific inquiry, democratic politics and freedom of culture do not have the sovereignty they acquire in the society of the open mind. In this way any totalitarian society, however modern and sophisticated, resembles in its structure a primitive society. In the communist system the subordination of science, politics and culture to the official ideology is indeed effected in the most thoroughgoing manner.

* * *

It is well-known fact that Soviet science is now and again subject to correction by the Communist Party's ideological experts. Marx and Engels, engaged in a controversy with the more extreme materialistic version of the natural sciences in the nineteenth century, themselves made a number of pronouncements on various scientific problems. Lenin and Stalin maintained this tradition. Since their works are held by the Communist Party to contain nothing but the truth, the views on scientific questions expressed therein serve as infallible guides for determining the value of more modern theories. The doctrine contained in the philosophical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is known as dialectical materialism. The Party demands that the results of scientific research do not contradict this official ideology, and any that happen to do so are condemned. Thus it is not unusual to find in a scientific work the remark that its results "confirm the truth of the theses of dialectical materialism," while conflicting views are labeled "unscientific." As a Soviet writer on cosmology puts it, a scientific result that contradicts the theses of dialectical materialism "leads to the negation of cosmology and therefore has nothing to do with science."¹ Maximov, a scientist engaged in research on the theory of relativity, was accused of "subjectivistic, 'nihilistic' and 'vulgari-

zing' tendencies; these terms have special meanings within the system of dialectical materialism, and are therefore ideological. Maximov is not the only one who has been censured in this way, of course. The truth of any inquiries concerning the origin of life is determined by reference to the corresponding passages from Engels' "Dialectics of Nature." The classical case of the subjugation of science to ideology is doubtless the famous 1948 genetics controversy, in which Lysenko finally crushed his opponents with the phrase "My report has been examined and approved by the Party Central Committee." One of his opponents immediately sent a confession to *Pravda*: "I am now convinced that the fundamental assertions of the Michurin school of Soviet genetics have been sanctioned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. As a member of the Party, I believe it impossible to persist in holding views that have been declared erroneous by the Party."² There are many such condemnations and confessions. Needless to say, a condemnation is usually followed by a ban on lecturing and publishing, or even by a loss of academic position, since scientific institutions in the Soviet Union are state controlled.

This state of affairs blatantly contradicts the Western notion of scientific inquiry and clearly reveals the difference in mentality. It might even be said that Soviet science is not scientific. For science comes into its own when it is allowed to have nothing but the object itself as the highest court of judgment. Science has no authority other than the objects it investigates or - what is the same thing - the truths it discovers. Moreover this authority is not absolute but, owing to the essential perspectivity and limitations of human knowledge, hypothetical. There is no road to the absolute in matters of science; any ideology that claims to present science with infallible truths is, from the scientific point of view, itself hypothetical. Science, discarding absolute authority, is inter-subjective and democratic; it creates its own authority out of the contributions of the scientists themselves. Science is democratic, for every scientist has the right to discuss, criticize and correct the views of others. Science as a human activity is one of the most splendid objectifications of the open mind. The closed mind, on the contrary, sets up certain a priori truths to which science must defer and thereby lose its scientific character. As an opponent of scientific objectivity, or the primacy of science over beliefs, communism suppresses facts in favor of beliefs and is therefore a principal enemy of truth.

* * *

Just as Soviet science is not really scientific (because it is subordinated to an a priori theory and is deprived of freedom of inquiry), so Soviet democracy, too, is not really democratic. That this is so follows from the elevation of the ideology above discussion and criticism (this conclusion is, of course, supported by the manner in which Soviet internal politics is actually conducted). To prevent possible criticism of the ideology there must exist a social class or caste of ruling men who either are its unconditional devotees or identify it with their own interests. To prevent the ideology from being replaced by another, there must exist a political structure that will prevent

the dissatisfied from attaining political power. Both circumstances rule out any chance of political rights. Thus there arises a deep chasm between the rulers and the ruled, although all kinds of attempts may be made to disguise the absolute distinction between the two by intentionally misleading terminology. If the communist system boasts that it has guaranteed democratic quality to all its citizens, the claim is proved false not only by such revealing phrases as "the dictatorship of the proletariat" but also by formal restrictions embedded in the very Constitution, in which the guarantees of freedom of speech, press and assembly are ominously and in a significantly vague manner modified by the phrase "in conformity with the interests of the working people."³

There is no need to elaborate this point in detail, since even the prolific verbiage of Communist propaganda cannot cover up the fact that the elector has only a single list of candidates to vote for, a fact that implies that in the background of Soviet internal politics there is all-powerful force capable of seeing to it that there is a single list of candidates and that any emergence of political pluralism is effectively and unhesitatingly suppressed by references to "the interests of the working people." The monist form of politics is a typical expression of the closed mind; its totalitarianism returns the citizen to the cage of the primitive society. (To do justice to primitive societies, it should be remarked that some of them exhibit a relatively large degree of democratic rule and are thus superior, in respect to politics, to the totalitarian states of the twentieth century.) In any case, the communist "democracy," with its political monism, merely replaces the monarchical and all other types of monism against which Marxism originally rebelled. The communist version of "democracy" is radically different from the genuine democracy expressed by the open mind, whose two principal features are political pluralism and a purely functional difference between the rulers and the ruled. Communist "democracy", on the other hand, reinstates privileges that it then accords to the Communist Party alone, transforming it into a caste of absolute rulers.

* * *

The supremacy of the official communist ideology applies equally to those remaining spheres of human activity that can be broadly designated by the term "culture": activities that are neither strictly political nor scientific but that express themselves on the one hand as views about man's place in the universe and on the other hand as manifestations of the creative spirit. It is characteristic of totalitarianism or the closed mind that it does not tolerate independent thought. Leaving aside religion, to which the communist attitude is doubtless negative without dissimulation, philosophy is also subjective to close supervision by the Party authorities. What is left of philosophy consists of interpretations of the works of the four classical communist writers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin (though the influence of Stalin has diminished recently). Thus the *Short Philosophical Dictionary*, an official publication, consists principally of quotations from these writers. Soviet philosophers themselves have

noted the servility of communist philosophical activity. During a state-organized philosophical discussion in 1947, protests were made against "quotationitis," if only against its more excessive forms. But in general quotationitis cannot be avoided, for it is customary in Soviet philosophical discussion to reduce any argument to a matter of correspondence or noncorrespondence with the views of the classical communist writers. Relatively more freedom obtains with relation to those problems of which the classical writers were not aware. In all cases, however, in philosophy no less than in science and politics, an attempt is made to give any inquiry a consciously partial quality. Lack of partiality is considered a grievous defect. Even logic has a political orientation. The logician P. S. Popov was censured by the Minister of Higher Education because his formalistic approach to logic was lacking in "political spirit." G. F. Alexandrov was subjected to sharp official criticism because his latest work, *The History of Western Philosophy*, was not partial (literally, "Party-bound") enough. It is demanded of Soviet psychologists, that they show a "bolshivist Party spirit in problems of psychology."⁴ It is not surprising that even artists, musicians and writers are regularly subjected to a thoroughgoing evaluation from the ideological point of view; the communist theory of esthetics holds definite views on the ways in which the creative spirit must manifest itself: It must be "socialist in content, national in form." This injunction follows logically from the epistemological theses of dialectical materialism, which maintain that consciousness is a reflection of reality. Thus the artistic consciousness of a socialist society can only be socialist. There is no room for other kinds of artistic or, more generally, cultural consciousness because, according to the infallible dialectical materialism, no other kinds of consciousness could even arise. Here again we have a case in which facts are suppressed in favor of a set of preconceived beliefs — an expression of the closed mind.

* * *

In a primitive society, concerned as it is with survival, the closed mentality of totalitarian solidarity can be said to be a natural and instinctive attitude (just as it is present to some extent in every society and in every individual). But since the time of the Greeks an opposed mentality, that of the open mind, has been in the ascendant. The closed mind is no longer instinctive or self-evident; it now requires justification. The question follows: How do the communist theorists justify the unambiguously totalitarian character of the communist ideology, in view of the prevailing Western ideals of political and intellectual liberty?

The justification offered on behalf of communist totalitarianism is indeed more sophisticated than that of a primitive society, in which uniformity of expression is expected from the members as the only means of ensuring self-preservation. It is much more modern. The justification of

communist totalitarianism rests on the claim that Marxist theory has grasped the inevitable law of historical progress. The communist version of totalitarianism rests on the claim that communist theory is scientific, that it expresses objective truth. Marxists suppose themselves to have discovered that the dialectical road to a classless society resembles an escalator that rises ceaselessly to its goal, carrying everyone with it. If there are any who have failed to grasp the unilinear nature of historical progress and who attempt to run in the opposite direction (i.e., the noncommunists, they merely cause congestion and interfere with the escalator's movement, and they must be removed — by force if necessary.

Since the unilinear progress is supposed to be a scientific truth (a scientific truth because, so the claim goes, it was discovered empirically by examining the nature of social laws), all contradictory views are to be suppressed as false. Thus only one ideology is possible, only one set of beliefs may be held and there is no point in permitting other views. For if it is true that 2 plus 2 makes 4, there is no point in permitting freedom to maintain that 2 plus 2 makes 5.

But is communist theory really scientific? On the one hand, it is true that a scientific truth is in its intention a fact, and possesses validity in the sense that a man cannot run away from it any more than he can run away from facts. Yet there is more to a scientific truth than its claim to express facts. A scientific truth must take into consideration the limitations of human knowledge; a scientific truth remains open to discussion, criticism and correction. This feature of remaining "open" is just as essential to a scientific truth as its claim to factuality. As soon as dogmatism sets in, as soon as a scientific truth ceases in principle to be subject to criticism, as soon as it becomes protected by the armor of infallibility, it forfeits its scientific character. For this reason communist theory, although it claims for itself the character of science, is not scientific, for where it has once installed itself it tolerates neither discussion nor criticism. On this principal point, the claim to a scientific character put forward by communist theory must collapse. The communist "scientific" ideology is guilty of false pretenses. Science, being aware of its essential limitations and its perspectivity, will never offer a foundation for totalitarianism. Science and totalitarianism are the expressions of two opposed mentalities: the open and the closed mind.

Notes:

1. Quoted by G. A. Wetter, *Philosophie und Naturwissenschaft in der Sowjetunion*, p. 60. The scientists referred to is M. S. Eigenzon.

2. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 81 f.

3. Article 125.

4. Quoted by I.M. Bochenski, *Der sowjetrussische dialektische Materialismus*, p. 107.

AGRICULTURE UNDER SOVIET CONTROL

BY EDMUND R. PADVAISKAS

In order to gain a clear understanding of the agricultural system of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, it is necessary to compare it with the situation in independent Lithuania before the country was incorporated into the Soviet Union.

In February, 1918, Lithuania regained her independence after some 123 years of Russian occupation. One of the most important acts of the re-established state was the undertaking of a land reform. Prior to World War I, 450 families owned 3,500,000 acres of land. Each of these families owned an estimated minimum of at least 2,000 acres. Together, these 450 families owned 22% of all the land. This picture was drastically altered by the land reform, which was begun in 1918 and put into final legislative form in 1922. Under the law passed in the latter year, estates of more than 200 acres (the figure was later raised to 321 acres) were broken up and distributed to landless peasants, farm laborers and small landowners. Each head of a family was to receive not more than 49.4 acres (20 hectares). Land was also distributed to institutions of learning and culture, hospitals and other social and public organizations. The former owners of the land were compensated with government bonds bearing 3% interest and redeemable at any time within 36 years. The new owners were to pay for their land in 36 annual installments. The amount they paid depended on the quality of the grain and the quality of the land; there were four grades, judged according to the fertility of the soil.¹

Thus 73,032 heads of families were supplied with land; 7,918 of them were workers and employees 14,227 were artisans and 24,520 were new farmers, while 26,367 were smallholders who received additional land. By 1930 there were 287,380 farms, with a total area of 10,671,048 acres, in Lithuania. By 1939 there were approximately 335,720 farms.

These farms can be divided into three classes, based on their productive capacity. The first class comprises those farms with an area of 2.5 to 30 acres. These farms on the whole raised only enough grain to feed their families, and they sold little to the towns. Each had one or two horses, one to four cows and some poultry. At the end of 1939 about 160,000 of Lithuania's farms, or 56% were in this group.

The farms in the second class ranged in size from 30 to 70 acres. They produced various agricultural products to sell on the market. There were about 100,000 farms in this class.

Farms exceeding 70 acres — there were about 27,000 of these — made up the third class. This group of farms supplied the bulk of agricultural produce for export.

Lithuania was predominantly an agricultural country; 76% of her population engaged in farm-

ing. The backbone of Lithuania's agriculture was grain growing, but livestock breeding and dairy farming increased steadily in importance in the 22 years of the country's independence. The principal grain crops were winter rye, winter wheat, oats and barley. The cultivation of root crops, which were grown on only a small scale under Tsarist occupation, expanded considerably, especially potatoes, beets and sugar beets. Flax was produced in quantity, and Lithuania ranked as the third — largest flax exporter in the world. Dairy farming, livestock breeding and poultry farming were all important in the picture of Lithuanian agriculture. In general, great advances were made in all branches of agricultural production in independent Lithuania.

On June 15, 1940, Lithuania's independent life was interrupted by Soviet troops, which invaded and occupied the country. On July 21, 1940, after a Communist — controlled election, Lithuania was incorporated into the U.S.S.R. as a Union republic.

The agrarian policy followed by the Communists when they took over Lithuania and the other Baltic states was to nationalize all the land immediately and declare a radical land reform.² The Communists knew from experience that immediate full-scale collectivization was impracticable and would lead to strenuous opposition from the peasantry. Therefore the Communist leadership followed the same policy that had been pursued in collectivizing land in the Soviet Union. They sought to win over the landless peasants and the poor and middle-class farmers. The richer farmers were tolerated but were put under severe pressure. Soviet propagandists told the people that the large farms would be broken up in order to give more land to the poorer peasants. All farms larger than 30 hectares (74 acres) and all lands belonging to the churches and public organizations were nationalized.

Some of the nationalized land was given to landless peasants and some was added to farms under 10 hectares in size. The Communists were seeking to create a new class that would be in sympathy with the regime.

The majority of farms of 80 hectares and over were not broken up and redistributed but were converted into state farms. At the same time a campaign was begun against people who owned as much as 30 hectares; they were labeled "barons," "kulaks" and "enemies of the people." The communists sought through harassment and the imposition of a high tax to drive them into the state-organized "cooperatives," the forerunners of the kolkhozes, or collective farms.

The poorer peasants soon learned that the Communists intended to drive not only the rich farmers but everyone into the "cooperatives." The largest of the newly created farms of formerly

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landless peasants was so small that the peasants could barely eke out an existence. In addition, these new farmers had neither implements, seed nor livestock. Instead of supplying these materials, the government began organizing Machine and Tractor Stations and Horse Lending Points. These were wholly inadequate to provide the farms with traction power, but they were admirably suited to serve as centers of observation, supervision and propaganda.

The Communists constantly sought to educate the population in the advantages of "socialism". The duties, forms and taxes levied on the private farms were so high that the farmers could not meet their obligations. At the same time, the advantages and privileges to be found in the "co-operatives" were constantly reiterated. To overcome the strongest opposition to collectivization that of the of the larger farmers, the first mass deportation was carried out; it occurred shortly before the German invasion in June, 1941.

The collectivization of Lithuania was interrupted by the German attack. When the Soviet Army reoccupied the Baltic states, in the fall of 1944, the agrarian policies of 1940 were resumed and even extended. The maximum number of hectares that could be privately owned was reduced from 30 to 25. The class war against the "kulaks" was resumed and sharpened; they were now termed fascists and German collaborators. Anyone suspected of collaborating with the Germans had his land expropriated.

At first there was little talk of collectivization; the immediate task was the reconstruction of agriculture, which had been ravaged by the war. However, in the fall of 1947, when the economic situation had stabilized, the Soviet leadership gave the order for "voluntary" collectivization to begin in Lithuania and the other Baltic states.

Once again the Soviets followed the pattern of collectivization they had employed in the Soviet Union. "Activists" and Communist cadres came to the villages from the cities to induce the people to enter the kolkhozes voluntarily. These kolkhozes were formed by amalgamating the farms of the poor peasants; they turned out to be so small that the "kulaks" land was also taken and added to them. At first the "kulaks" were not even allowed to join the kolkhozes.

In Lithuania, as in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, there was strenuous opposition to collectivization. This opposition was both passive and active. Communist propaganda was full of shrill attacks on "bourgeois nationalists" and "kulaks" who were preventing and obstructing collectivization. The resistance in Lithuania was more active than that in the other Baltic states and lasted longer because the peasants were supported by a well-organized resistance movement.

To destroy this opposition and to step up the lagging tempo of collectivization, the Communists once again resorted to drastic measures. Mass de-

portations were carried out in May, 1948; altogether, more than 120,000 "kulaks" were banished from Lithuania.

With the full resources of a totalitarian state mobilized against the "kulaks," active resistance was eventually crushed. Rapid and intense collectivization followed; by the end of 1950, some 76% of the peasant families were collectivized. The Soviets had organized these families into 4,500 kolkhozes. In 1951 the economy of Lithuania was fully modeled on that of the Soviet Union and the integration of her system of agriculture with the U.S.S.R.'s was begun.

Lithuania under Soviet control has remained a predominantly agricultural country.³ The area under cultivation is greater than that of the two other Baltic states together. The sown area amounts to more than one-third of all the territory of the Lithuanian S.S.R. The Central Lithuanian lowland, in which about 60% of all agricultural activity is concentrated, is the greatest farming center. The land in the southeastern part of the country is least profitable for agriculture because of the sandy soil and the marshes.

The same crops prevail in the Lithuanian S.S.R. as predominated in independent Lithuania. The chief grain crops are rye, wheat and barley. The Soviets have also attempted to develop the cultivation of fodder crops. A program to reclaim marshland and to increase the fertility of chemical fertilizers was introduced. As will be demonstrated later, the Soviets have had little success with these innovations.

The most extensively cultivated crop is still winter rye, which grows well in all parts of the Lithuanian S.S.R. This is a crop that does not require intensive care and that can be grown even in the less fertile region of eastern Lithuania; one third of the total crop is raised there.

Winter wheat is grown in the Central Lithuanian lowland, especially its northern part. The Soviets are trying to increase the amount of winter wheat grown. Spring wheat is raised in most parts of the country; western Lithuania is an important area for this crop, and winter wheat makes up 10% to 11% of all crops sown there.

Barley is a valuable forage and supply crop; it is used as food, for brewing beer and as fodder for cattle. It is grown in all parts of Lithuania and occupies 10% of the sown land, and in central and western Lithuania 15%. Soviet experimental stations have been working on new barley strains and claim success with the two new types.

Oats are sown especially in the Samogitian highland, on the coast and in eastern Lithuania. The soil of eastern Lithuania is also well suited to the cultivation of buckwheat, which constitutes between 5% and 15% of this area's grain. The Soviets have recently decided to increase corn production so as to have a base for cattle raising.

Among the nongrain crops, an important role is played by various types of grasses, especially clover. These grasses are sown on almost all the meadows in the lower Nemunas River region.

Flax is still the most important technical crop; in 1954 it comprised 4.4% of all sown areas in the country. The most extensive zones of flax cultivation are in western Lithuania, in the northeast and in parts of the Central Lithuanian lowland; in these regions, flax accounts for from 5% to 7% of all farm production.

Potatoes, which are used for food and fodder and for the starch industry, are supposedly grown in greater quantities than before the war, as are also sugar beets, especially in southern Lithuania. Among vegetables, those kolkhozes that have suitable conditions raise tomatoes, onions and beets. Among the fruits raised are cherries, plums, pears and — especially — apples.

One goal of Soviet agricultural policy has been to emphasize the role of livestock and cattle raising. The importance of the kolkhoz-owned livestock can be seen by the fact that animal husbandry bring in more than one-half of the collective farms' cash income. Animal husbandry plays an even greater role in the economies of the sovkhoses (state farms). The basic branches of animal husbandry here are dairy farming and pig raising; between them, these two branches account for more than 85% of the cash income of the sovkhoses.

There is a greater concentration of cattle and pigs in the Lithuanian S.S.R. than in the two other Baltic republics. Cows, sheep and pigs are raised in all parts of Lithuania, but they are raised in particularly great numbers in the northern regions of the Central Lithuanian highland, in Sudare and on the land at the mouth of the Nemunas River.

Animal husbandry depends on varied fodder — supply bases, depending on the type or livestock raised. An important part of the food supply is, of course, furnished by the republic's meadow and pasture areas. Various kolkhozes raise products that are used for feeding cows and pigs; these include grain feed, corn and potatoes.

There are two basic breeds of cattle in Lithuania; they are the most productive and the best-suited to the local climatic and feeding conditions. The first of these breeds was bred from a local stock, a Dutch breed and a Swedish breed; this breed has existed in Lithuania since the 18th century. The average weight of the cows is about 500 kilograms, and on leading kolkhozes and sovkhoses it reaches 550 kilograms and more. The second breed is generally smaller in size, gives less milk, but of a higher quality. Cattle are raised in all parts of the Lithuanian S.S.R.

Sheep breeding occupies a relatively subordinate place in the Lithuanian S.S.R. The predominant breed is the black-head sheep, which is valuable for both meat and wool. The wool yield is 3 to 3.5 kilograms, and the average weight is 55 to 60 kilograms.

Lithuanians have engaged in horse breeding since ancient times. In occupied Lithuania the same two basic breeds have been continued; these are the heavy-duty horse and the short Samogitian breed, which is distinguished by its great endurance and is found in the eastern regions of the Lithuanian S.S.R. The heavy-duty horses weigh an average of 650 to 750 kilograms and have a great work capacity.

The kolkhoz has remained the basis of the agricultural system of Soviet — controlled Lithuania. In the first years after collectivization, the number of collective farms was rather large; in 1950, for example, there were 4,500 of them. The more recent policy of the Communists has been to amalgamate the kolkhozes, thus decreasing their number and increasing their size. In 1952 and 1953 there were 2,200, and this number fell to

1,800 in 1954 and 1955.⁴ In 1956 there were 1,900 collective farms. The size of these farms, in terms of numbers of households, ranges from those with 100 households (8% of the total) to more than; 500 (.4% of the total); 47.7% of all collective farms have between 100 to 200 households. The average kolkhoz is 2,400 hectares in size, including 1,500 hectares of arable land.

Up to the beginning of 1958, the kolkhozes in the Lithuanian S.S.R., like those in the rest of the U.S.S.R., were serviced by Machine and Tractor Stations. The Soviets established 40 of these stations in 1940. After the war, they increased this number — to 113 in 1950 and 127 in 1953. In 1954 and 1955 the Lithuanian S.S.R. had 135 Machine and Tractor Stations, whose mechanized equipment included 11,912 tractors (in terms of 15 horsepower units), 1315 grain combines, 433 flax combines, 84 beet combines and 1,505 threshing machines. As a result of Khrushchev's call for the disbanding of all Machine and Tractor Stations in the U.S.S.R., this equipment has presumably been sold to the collective farms.

By 1950 the Soviets had set up 113 state farms in the Lithuanian S.S.R. Between 1952 and 1955 this number was reduced to 87. In 1955 the sovkhoses occupied about 5% of the country's farm land. Their average size was about 2,500 hectares. Recently, however there seems to be policy of expanding the sovkhoses at the expense of the kolkhozes. The amount of land possessed by the state farms increased from 200,000 hectares in 1954 to 300,000 hectares in 1955. The number of sovkhoses rose from 87 in 1955 to 94 in 1956. In the years 1955 and 1956 the number of pigs on the sovkhoses increased from 113,000 to 149,000 and the number of cattle from 47,000 to 57,000. This latter figure marks an increase of 21% in the number of cattle on the sovkhoses of the Lithuanian S.S.R., as against an increase of only 5% for the sovkhoses of the Soviet Union as a whole in this same period. This increase is almost exclusively the result of adding on the cattle of those kolkhozes that were converted into sovkhoses.

The Lithuanian S.S.R. plans to set up more new sovkhoses; at a session of its Supreme Soviet, the Lithuanian Minister of Finance disclosed that the 1957 budget appropriations to the Ministry of State Farms for development purposes were 36, 800,000 rubles more than in 1956.⁵

Despite the claims of Communist propaganda, the Soviet system of collective agriculture has failed miserably in comparison to the privately owned economy of independent Lithuania. This can be seen from the Soviet Union's own official data. Lithuanian farmers are paying a heavy price for the "blessings" of collectivization. For example, there has been a marked decline in the total amount of sown land since the Communists took control of Lithuania; in 1940, before mass collectivization, the figure was 2,497,000 hectares; in 1950 it had declined to 2,294,000 hectares, and in 1955 it was only 2,005,000 hectares. That is, since the Soviets took control they have managed to lose 492,000 hectares of sown land. The number of cattle has declined in similar fashion: In 1941 there were 1,054,000 head of cattle, including 782,000 cows; in 1957, five years after the war, there were only 994,000 head of cattle, including 558,000 cows.

The Communists have maintained that among the chief purposes of the kolkhoz system are the provision of a firm foundation for developing animal husbandry and achieving increased harvests. However, the total number of cattle has declined rather than risen, and the Communists have had little success in fulfilling its harvest quotas. The Lithuanian S.S.R. failed to fulfill its 1955 grain-delivery plan. There is no precise information on the 1956 harvest, but the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture announced that all the Union republics had fulfilled their 1956 schedules for delivery and sale of grain to the state 'except the Lithuanian and Estonian Republics'.

One of Khrushchev's innovations in agriculture has been the emphasis on corn not only as a grain crop but also for silage. Khrushchev holds that by cultivating fallow and virgin lands and by using corn as fodder, he can increase the production of livestock. All regions of the U.S.S.R. followed Khrushchev's dicta and began to emphasize corn. In 1955 the Lithuanian S.S.R. sowed 17,000 hectares to corn for grain and 135,000 hectares to corn for silage and fodder.⁶ Khrushchev was forced to admit at the 20th Party Congress that Lithuania — and Kazakhstan, Latvia, Estonia, Belorussia and Karelo — Finland as well — had failed to meet its targets because of inexperience with this new crop.

As Naum Jasny, an expert on Soviet agriculture, put it, 'The precarious situation of agriculture in the Baltic states can be seen in the abnormally high quotas demanded for 1960 in the Party's directives to the Sixth Five-Year Plan.'

A clear picture of the critical position of Lithuanian agriculture can be gained from a consideration of the yields per hectare. The Soviet leaders themselves have shown considerable uneasiness over this phase of agriculture. A report of the Party Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers disclosed that 'low grain yields, not exceeding three to four quintals per hectare, have been obtained for several years by many collective and state farms' in the Baltic states (and also in the northeastern oblasts of the Russian Federation and Belorussia).⁸ In 1935 to 1939, when Lithuania was an independent state, the average harvest was 11.8 quintals per hectare.⁹ As Jasny indicates, it may be necessary to go back 100 to 200 years to find a yield as low as the three to four quintals per hectare obtained by many kolkhozes in the Lithuanian S.S.R.

The reasons for the failure of Lithuania's collectivized agriculture are not difficult to find. The chief and basic cause of this failure is the unwillingness and apathy of the individualist-minded peasant, who wants to own his own land and has no desire to become a mere laborer for the state. The Lithuanian peasant, like the peasants in the rest of the U.S.S.R., will devote more time and energy to working his own small plot of land than he will to the communal kolkhoz fields.

Other reasons for the failure of the Soviet system of agriculture may be noted. After the war the Soviets completely disrupted the old system of farming, and communist 'activists', in their haste to collectivize the country, ineptly consolidated hundreds of farms. This was often done on the orders of Communists who had little understanding of agriculture. The result was that many hectares of arable land were turned into

swampland and animal husbandry was harmed. The Soviet insistence on creating huge collective and state cattle farms also led to many problems of housing and feeding cattle that it took the Soviets a long time to solve.

The same errors of Communist management of the kolkhoz system in other parts of the U.S.S.R. were also to be found in Lithuania. The expulsion of the 'kulaks' deprived the country of an energetic and hard-working group of farmers and also caused a shortage of manpower. With the decrease in the number of horses there has been a consequent decrease in the supply of manure, and insufficient artificial fertilizer has been produced. The work of the Machine and Tractor Stations was poor and the cost of the work to the kolkhozes was high. At the same time, the Machine and Tractor Stations did not supply all the tractor power needed. Other reasons for the failure of the Soviet system include incompetent management at the level of the kolkhoz itself and at higher levels, the exceedingly high delivery quotas demanded by the state combined with low state prices for collective farm produce, the demand that Lithuanian peasants volunteer for work on the virgin lands, and the transfer of tractors and combines to the virgin lands in Siberia.

It is difficult not to conclude that the Soviet system of collectivized agriculture in occupied Lithuania, as in the rest of the U.S.S.R., is nothing else than modern serfdom.

NOTES

1. This data on agriculture in independent Lithuania and that following is taken from Anicetas Simutis, *The Economic Reconstruction of Lithuania After 1918*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1942.

2. For a summary of this policy see: Hans Petersen, *Die Sowjetische Agropolitik in den Baltischen Staaten, 1940-1952*, "Ost-Europa", Vol. III, June, 1953, pp. 191 ff.

3. The following survey of contemporary Lithuanian agricultural resources is taken from a Soviet history of Lithuania; *Litovskaya S. S. R.*, edited by K.K. Beliukas, Yu. I. Bulabas, I.V. Komar, State Geographical Literature Publishing House Moscow, 1955.

4. The sources for the information on kolkhozes, sovkhoses, M. T. S., etc. are: *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR, statisticheskii sbornik* (1956), State Statistical Publishing House (Central Statistical Administration of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers), Moscow; *Large Soviet Encyclopedia Yearbook*, edited by B.A. Vvedenskii, Moscow, 1957.

5. "Sovetskaya Litva," Vilnius, March 13, 1957.

6. *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR, statisticheskii sbornik* 1955, Moscow.

7. Naum Jasny, *The Soviet 1956 Statistical Handbook: A Commentary* Michigan State University Press, East Lansing, 1957.

8. "Pravda", January 17, 1957, as quoted in Jasny, op. cit., p. 98.

9. This data is from *The International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics*, International Institute of Agriculture, 1946.

PETRAS KIAULĖNAS

(Last picture before the artist's death in 1954).



PETRAS KIAULĖNAS AND THE ART OF MODERN COLOR

BY GORDON BROWN

The distinguished Lithuanian painter, Petras Kiaulėnas, continued to explore the possibilities of color up to his death in 1954. Were it not for the developments in his methods of coloring achieved in the United States, where he spent the final years of his life, it would be presumptuous to add anything to the important body of criticism already built up around his work by Parisian art critics in the 1940's. Kiaulėnas' ideas and achievements in the domain of color go beyond impressionism, as it was formerly understood, and fairly demand a new critical treatment.

The possibility of creating a modern school of impressionism has always seemed intriguing. Kiaulėnas has laid the foundation for such a development. To-day, scientific color theory has been reconstituted and new ideas are in the air. A similar situation existed when the older impressionism appeared simultaneously with new developments in the theory of color. According to Paul Signac, the influence of the French scientist Chevreul was decisive on the work of Seurat, Cross, and Signac. Chevreul's book appeared in 1839, many years before Monet or Picasso ever exhibited. The real artistic contemporary of Chevreul was Eugene Delacroix, who inspired impressionism and developed his own color theories independently.

It is not surprising that, parallel to contemporary scientific developments, an artist of the stamp of Kiaulėnas has appeared. Without reference to any books he is making his own empirical discoveries. Most amazing to me has been his find that the direction or curvature of brush strokes influence the hue, intensity and value of color. Of course, this phenomenon takes place when the strokes are visible and separated, as they always are in Kiaulėnas'

work. If I may be pardoned a continued emphasis on science, I should like to point out a parallel to Kiaulėnas' use of curving brush strokes. Plate XII in Faber Birren's recent book, *MONUMENT TO COLOR*, shows how the pure colors of the spectrum laid out in waving bands, one above another, appear to overlap, when seen at a distance, and to develop a glow approximating the luminosity of the rainbow. Now it is precisely this spectrum glow, obtained with the merely material colors and stains of the painter, that marks the style of Petras Kiaulėnas and makes his work different from that of any other artist. Here I may safely appeal to the observations of any one standing before a Kiaulėnas original. His reds and oranges really do glow to an unusual degree.

It will be found that any given red area in one of Kiaulėnas' paintings is generally composed of different kinds of reds, some veering toward orange and others toward violet. To-day we know that a glow, such as Kiaulėnas obtained, comes from just such a juxtaposition of similar hues and not from the juxtaposition of nearly complementary hues. This latter type of juxtaposition was considered basic by the older impressionists, since they believed that all colors derived from mixtures of red, yellow and blue, which are different rather than similar colors. Such juxtapositions they usually obtained. Nevertheless, there is some truth in the impressionist idea that pure colors, laid side by side in the form of dots, create a lively effect. At the risk of going into too much detail, I may say that the juxtaposition of approximately complementary colors is lively only when viewed close up while a longer view of the whole appears dull. This longer view is the one obtained when, for example,

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you look at a whole picture by Claude Monet. Kiaulēnas almost invariably used his reds as dominants and these have a luminosity impossible to obtain by blindly following the principles of Monet, Pissaro and Seurat.

To sum up, both Kiaulēnas and modern color science use the principle of similar hues and wavy lines rather than dots to produce maximum luminosity. But unlike the scientist, Kiaulēnas has enlisted all the other resources of the painter's craft to produce his glow. If necessary, in order to subordinate certain areas, Kiaulēnas has resorted to the older impressionist method of complementary juxtaposition. In this way he interweaved his reds with the cool colors throughout the canvas so that the picture as a whole radiates with extraordinary warmth. His dazzling effects have been largely developed from the very materials he used. It is as if the pigments and the brushes had talked to him and he had followed their suggestions, always taking into consideration his own personality and way of handling his tools. Kiaulēnas' art of color developed spontaneously and creatively from his own way of seeing and feeling paint rather than from the application of any arbitrary and limited scientific theory. For this reason the parallel with the modern scientific viewpoint seems even more surprising.

Yet such parallels constantly confront the art historian. The various cultural manifestations of an epoch, however independent of one another they may seem at first glance, almost always converge towards an historically determined ideal. Thus, Kiaulēnas' art has been partly determined by the course of history. His style has evolved from historic impressionism in response to a continued interest in color and light in our own times.

But the changes that Kiaulēnas has wrought in the impressionist style require a more complete enumeration. Compared to Monet, his brush strokes are freer and more active. Compared to Seurat, his style is less determined by *A PRIORI* rules or preestablished points of view. Compared to either, his color is more luminous. Moreover, Kiaulēnas technique is more complex and varied than that of the older impressionists. Seeking greater purity and freshness, he often used touches of impasto which barely graze the canvas or perhaps, transparent, fluid strokes which let the canvas show through. All this gives the light and airy quality of film color to his pictures. Above all Kiaulēnas sought for clear color whereas the average impressionist canvas, with its monotonous repetition of solid, similarly shaped brush marks, appear heavy and opaque. Kiaulēnas thus obtained a purity of effect whereas, for Monet and Seurat, purity meant intensity of hue and the absence of dirty mixtures. Kiaulēnas, of course, also used the concept. At times, too, he will crush a heavy impasto onto the grain of the canvas, obtaining either solid or crumbling effects. His varied touches are usually criss-crossed since he used curved, horizontal, vertical and diagonal strokes. I have mentioned his idea that the direction of those

strokes affect the color. Hence, Kiaulēnas has consciously integrated calligraphy and color. Whereas classical painting used line to get contour. Kiaulēnas used line to get color. This gives a new twist to a 300 year old argument over the respective merits of line drawing and of color, which was formerly the chief preoccupation of the eminent members of the Royal Academy of Painting in Paris. Kiaulēnas would have shocked the older academicians for he avoids contour lines in the ordinary sense of the word. It is not contour but beautiful relationships between an infinity of tones and colors that Kiaulēnas sought.

This extraordinary variety, particularly in kinds of brush strokes contributes to his luminous glow. We have already seen that waving lines of spectrum colors produce an overlapping in the eye of the spectator looking at Plate XII in Faber Birren's book. The spectator's eye is confused and he sees what really is not there, an optical rather than a physical mixture of printing inks. In similar fashion, Kiaulēnas varied brush strokes produce an artificial confusion and feeling of overlaps. Such is the variety of his touch that his color indicates, not the color of an object, but the color of light itself, which is intangible. In this way, Kiaulēnas continued impressionism with a modern feeling that is essential for the colors to overlap in the spectator's eye in order to obtain maximum stimulations and effect of glow.

The following incident shows that Kiaulēnas was interested in optical mixtures which have to be seen at a distance: While at Kiaulēnas' home, I began inspecting a picture hung in a narrow hall. Kiaulēnas immediately opened the door into still another corridor so that I could step outside to obtain a long view. At the proper distance, the picture produced something of the effect of light, itself, through the fusion of many colors. We must remember that light is composed of many colored rays, corresponding to different wave lengths. Kiaulēnas' overlapping brush strokes and bewildering variety of paint textures emit reflected rays of different colors which are responsible for the dazzling effect he produces. But these brush strokes do more than create the effect of glow.

Relying as usual on multiple means, he employed brush strokes in three ways. 1) He sometimes used the strokes to follow the turning of the form. This is a traditional method and is characteristic of Kiaulēnas' first works. 2) His strokes often follow the direction of the light or, at least, indicate atmosphere rather than form. This, again, is traditional in the sense that Massaccio and Leonardo were aware of the method. The impressionists adhering to strokes formed like dots or dashes, certainly painted light rather than form. This method appears in Kiaulēnas' work in the 1940's. 3) Kiaulēnas used strokes which create an arabesque interesting in its own right and contributing to the drama and emotional quality of the picture. This method is one of the keys to Kiaulēnas' final style.

Trough his use of this last method Kiaulēnas seems related to Van Gogh, also a man of the north. With his brush strokes Van Gogh created a rhythm which, at times, seems almost a separate system from the pattern of the contours. Some critics have even baptised this separate system of strokes the "cosmic rhythms". Certain it is that they convey a sustained emotional excitement throughout



PETRAS KIAULĖNAS

THE GIRLS

the picture. Kiaulėnas' last landscapes seem to follow the principle of the exciting brush stroke but they do not resemble Van Gogh's paintings in any ordinary sense of the word. Kiaulėnas, moreover, eliminated the contour which Van Gogh habitually retained. However, I think we can say that both Kiaulėnas and Van Gogh use the impressionist technique to further essentially expressionist aims. Where Van Gogh induced a strong rapid movement, with brush strokes leading the eye quickly from one area to another, I find that Kiaulėnas' strokes have a lingering quality. Kiaulėnas certainly loved each curve that he made and, particularly, the manner in which an individual stroke may begin with vigor and

gradually dwindle off into nothingness. This lingering quality combined with the nostalgic effect of his light and atmosphere and with a feeling of timelessness induced by the emphasis on light, which here suggests the eternal aspects of nature. The faces and attitudes of the personages, if depicted, are characterized by deep introspection. All this seems to me expressionist, though in an entirely different way from Van Gogh. However, in some of Kiaulėnas' last landscapes where he approached a shorthand system and confined himself to the notation of essentials, the movement is more rapid. On the whole, Kiaulėnas' lingering, thoughtful style seems to be more characteristic of his work during the 1940's.



PETRAS KIAULĖNAS

TREES

His final tendency was to concentrate on the calligraphic arabesque and on scintillating color at the expense of form. It is almost inevitable that an artist interested primarily in color as light, should destroy form. While it is true that light falling on objects reveals form, light, as a thing in itself, has no form. We are, for example, less aware of the three-dimensional form of the sun or of an electric light bulb than of ordinary objects, partly submerged in the darkness of shade. It is understandable that Kiaulėnas, the painter of glow, cared less and less for the rendering of solidity.

Seeking always to give the impression of light, Kiaulėnas has increased the sparkle by letting more

and more blank canvas show through, thus setting off each individual stroke. More and more Kiaulėnas relied on the isolated stroke to convey the essential relations between color tones. His notations became increasingly briefer as the logical outcome of a carefully thought out painter's philosophy.

This credo can be summed up as follows; working always with the model before him, the artist must feel all the elements of the picture at once. It is useless to tackle such elements as light, local color and planes in an analytical fashion at separate sittings. It does no good arranging and changing the composition. If the artist does not feel the subject the picture will be a failure any way. In order to keep this feeling the picture must look

finished. After one minute of painting, an artist has revealed his mastery. Kiaulėnas, himself, began with a few simple relations. These spare touches suffice to show certain carefully selected aspects of the model which interested him. If necessary, all the rest was sacrificed.

Such a shorthand method places the emphasis on freshness and spontaneity, two qualities that Kiaulėnas valued not only in color, but in the form of the stroke. One wonders whether the rapid pace of American life had not encouraged such an abbreviated technique, as in the case of John Marin. Kiaulėnas, however, has denied any American influence.

This question of influence has been rather fully treated by previous writers. It has been pointed out that Kiaulėnas admired Titian's old age style, where

light for the first time appears atomized into its color components. But Kiaulėnas also liked an entirely different artistic type, Alessio Baldovintti, for the purity and freshness of his effects. Maurice Scherer, in his book on Kiaulėnas, lays some stress on Bonnard as an influence. I see this only in a similar use of brilliant reds to define the local color of drapes or fruits. Kiaulėnas did not attempt to get the effect of flat color patterns on the surface of the picture, as Bonnard does, except in a different way in his last pictures. In these Kiaulėnas used linear arabesques instead of the flat areas of Bonnard.

I am surprised that no one has mentioned Cezanne as an influence, at least in print. The color schemes of Kiaulėnas' "Trois fillettes" and of the last landscapes resemble Cezanne far more than Bon-



PETRAS KIAULENAS

PORTRAIT

nard. Still another artist could have been mentioned, at least to my mind. Kokoschka's work, like Kiaulėnas', utilizes the impressionist technique, has a somewhat similar preoccupation with brush strokes and is likewise expressionist. I do not feel that there is any influence but only that the two men are similar in temperament and both have the northern spirit.

When Scherer speaks of Renoir as an influence, I am fully in agreement. Nevertheless, I feel that the French critics like to see everything as an example of the "rayonnement français". Therefore I make distinctions between what is French and what is not French.

Certainly Kiaulėnas' impressionism is often of the French variety. This is especially true of works produced during his actual stay in France. His "Trois fillettes" does have some resemblance to a Renoir and the delicacy of touch may possibly come from that source or from Cezanne's water colors. The whole paraphernalia of impressionism including the division of light into its component colors, letting the bare canvas show through in parts and the joy in color for its own sake, all this I suppose should be called French.

On the other hand, impressionism was really invented by Englishmen such as Constable and Turner. It is true that these men did not influence Kiaulėnas directly. Yet it is surprising how the northern temperament shows in Kiaulėnas' work, so that there is an affinity between his landscapes and those of P. Wilson Steer, an English follower of Constable and Turner. Certainly Kiaulėnas' landscapes are much nearer to Kokoschka and Steer than to any Frenchman, except at times, Cezanne. The breeding quality in Kiaulėnas' work is definitely northern. It is something that one expects to find in, say, Lithuanian born Chaim Soutine rather than in the work of a Frenchman. The French, too, have a tendency to search for "pure" forms, preferably geometrical ones. Renoir's forms, for example, are well rounded and classical. Kiaulėnas may have looked for pure color but his planes are jagged and rough. In short, they are barbarian, in the good sense of the word, rather than classical. In general, Kiaulėnas' forms are suggestive and even ambiguous. He hints to some inner turmoil of the soul, while the French are invariably clear, definite and unambiguous.

Nevertheless, it was in Paris, after two years of intensive painting, that Kiaulėnas first revealed his mature talent in an exhibition at the Chardin Gallery. Kiaulėnas had several successful shows in Paris and quite evidently thrived in its congenial atmosphere. The Visconti Gallery, for example, showed his work along side of paintings by Matisse, Utrillo de Segonzac and Suzanne Valadon. During this period, Kiaulėnas' paintings showed an almost complete break with his academic studies at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts at Kaunas and at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Rome, where he was graduated in 1937. The change in his art was, of course, in the direction of impressionism, but a preoccupation with volumes, due, no doubt, to his early training, persisted in his work throughout the 1940's, despite the fact that Mont, himself, had abandoned the third dimension in his late works. A more complete emancipation from academic rules is evident in Kiaulėnas' last works.

One other event in Kiaulėnas' life is worth mentioning. In 1942, he received a diploma in ar-

chitecture, after studies at l'Ecole des Art Decoratifs and l'Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris. This training must have fortified Kiaulėnas' feeling for structure, an exceedingly valuable asset for a painter. In a sense, Kiaulėnas' work became more and more architectural since he emphasized the arabesque on the plane surface of the canvas, thus truly expressing the flatness of the material. Similarly, a good architect always expresses his materials and the way his building is constructed. There is less and less emphasis in Kiaulėnas' work on solid volumes, which are foreign to the actual two-dimensional nature of a picture. These volumes seem to me to correspond in painting to the applied ornaments which architects are currently abandoning. While Kiaulėnas did not affirm volumes, it is also true that he did not deny them. They are, in fact, implicit in his final work. Hence, a traditional feeling for the structure of solids was valuable to him. The wrong note, the wrong value on a given object in the picture could still cause his whole structure to collapse. Hence we reach the paradox that in order to eliminate form you first have to know it thoroughly. I have always held that Matisse, who paints successful flat pictures, must possess a good knowledge of chiaroscuro modeling to accomplish his aim. This knowledge is, in fact, shown in many of Matisse's charcoal drawings.

Although, as in the case of Matisse, Kiaulėnas' work is grounded on tradition, he affirms that his primary aim is a search for pure beauty. Hence, he makes exactly the same claim as the average abstractionist. Kiaulėnas' defense of his position is worth careful consideration. He says that the artist who invents pure forms out of his own head tends to repeat himself. On the other hand, his careful observation of nature, which forms the basis of his own work, stimulates infinite variety, novel forms and all the powers of invention. Moreover, Kiaulėnas asserts that his inventions have the advantage of being comprehensible. Some abstract painters would reply that they are exploring a different phase of natural phenomena requiring a new grammar and vocabulary for expression. If the argument was pursued further it might obscure the fact that there are always different schools of painting. The essential thing is that one be a good painter.

But let us refer briefly to still another controversy. Here, again, it is worth listening to both parties in the dispute. The fact that Kiaulėnas has achieved excellence without immersing himself in a study of Lithuanian folk art does not mean that some painters are not succeeding in perpetuating the folk art tradition. Kiaulėnas' way lies in another direction equally significant for the development of Lithuanian art. Relying mainly on intuition, he feels the changes that have taken place in the world and in art and has adopted himself to new conditions which certainly affect the Lithuanian nation. His heart is Lithuanian even though his technique is at times French, at times simply European. Essentially, he speaks as a man of the north, expressing his own times with particular sensitivity to new directions in the art of luminous color. In this he chose the right road to artistic salvation.

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A volume of fullcolor reproductions by Kiaulėnas, suitable for framing, has recently been published and is available.
Ed.

VINCAS KUDIRKA

BY DR. VINCAS MACIŪNAS

On December 31, Lithuanians will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vincas Kudirka, their great patriot and famous writer and author of their national anthem. Commemorative meetings will be held in many Lithuanian colonies in the free world, and the Lithuanian press is already carrying articles about Vincas Kudirka. His name has been honored by all Lithuanians for many decades. When Lithuania gained her independence, Kudirka's works were read and studied by thousands of Lithuanian students; statues of him decorated many squares and parks and portraits of him were displayed in many official buildings. Numerous streets were named for him, and Naumiestis, the town where Kudirka died, was renamed Kudirkos Naumiestis.

In order to gain a better understanding of Vincas Kudirka's significance to the Lithuanian nation, we must first briefly survey the times in which he lived. The Lithuanians had been suffering from Russian domination since the end of the 18th century. That domination became increasingly severe with each unsuccessful uprising, and after the revolt of 1863 the Russian government inflicted such terrible repressions on Lithuania that the governor-general, Muraviev, became known to history as "the hangman." The Russian government did not stop at hangings and deportations, however; it attempted to root out completely any possibility of future unrest. Lithuania was to be completely Russified, and a thoroughgoing Russification program was instituted. Russian colonists were settled on lands confiscated from the revolutionaries; only Russians were appointed to government posts; all private schools were closed and children had to attend



Russian schools. Lithuanian cultural life was greatly hampered and the Russian Orthodox Church received open support, while the Catholic Church, which exerted a great influence on the people and could thus have interfered effectively in the Russification program, was subjected to constant supervision. This policy toward Lithuania was in line with the general policy toward non-Slavonic people, which was inspired by Slavophiles and pan-Slavists. Even more drastic measures were adopted in Lithuania, however: Lithuanians were forbidden to use the familiar Latin alphabet and were told to use the Cyrillic one. It was hoped that once the Lithuanians became used to the Cyrillic letters, they would become used to Russian books and the Russian language and would eventually become completely Russian. On this score, the Russian senator Miliutin once cynically remarked that the Russian letters would finish what the Russian sword had begun.

But the Russian government, to its own surprise, had miscalculated. In spite of the fact

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that during the forty years 1865-1904, not even primers and missals could be printed in the Latin alphabet in Lithuania, books in the Cyrillic alphabet that were supplied by the Russian government were not accepted. Only about sixty of these books were published during this period, and even these were destined to mildew in government warehouses. Meanwhile, since acceptable literature could not be published at home, they were published in East Prussia, where a part of the Lithuanian nation was living under German rule. This material was smuggled across the border and distributed throughout the country. At first, books of a general nature were primarily published, but eventually nationalistic periodicals made their appearance. The year 1883 marked an epoch in the Lithuanian national revival, since in that year the first issue of "Aušra" ("The Dawn") appeared. This newspaper of nationalistic inspiration was soon joined by a number of others. It is true that, because they were constantly persecuted by the government and were forced to circulate underground, these newspapers were small in size, but their significance to the Lithuanian nation was great. In articles beyond the reach of the official censors they explained to the people their rights and privileges, threw light upon the designs of the Russian government and encouraged the people to resist. They urged the idea of nationhood and were successful in arousing the passive and conservatively inclined peasant class into a nation. And if "Aušra" had only a handful of patriotic contributors, several decades later the 1905 Congress of Vilnius welcomed some two thousand people who courageously demanded autonomy for Lithuania.

The struggle for a national literature was not easy, for the Russian government did not hesitate to use against a defenseless Lithuania a large police force, the courts and the administration. The last mentioned became the chief punitive agency and dealt out severe punishments: long prison terms or even exile to Siberia. The courts were less frequently resorted to by the government, for their sentences were lighter. In this way what began as a ban on the press ended as a total persecution of the Lithuanian nationalist movement. Eventually the Russian government was forced to concede defeat and to admit that the press ban not only failed to achieve its aim but actually worked contrary to Russian interests, in as much as it revolutionized the Lithuanian nation. In 1904 the ban was lifted.

The forty-year period is a heroic time in Lithuanian history, one that Lithuanians recall with pride. Two heroic types arose during this period that became national symbols to future generations. The first was the man who smuggled literature across the heavily guarded border. In doing this, and in spreading the writings throughout the land, he was risking his life. He

was pursued and persecuted and not infrequently punished by exile from Lithuania. But he never lost courage, and ultimately he was the victor over the huge Russian administration. The second type was the writer himself, also persecuted, hiding under a pen name, always subject to searches, often arrested and imprisoned or deported or, because of the difficult conditions of his life, an early prey to tuberculosis. In this second group we find Vincas Kudirka.

Vincas Kudirka was born on Dec. 31, 1858, in the county of Vilkaviškis, in southwestern Lithuania. From his father, an able and respected farmer, he inherited a strong character and a clear mind, while from his mother, who excelled in singing and story-telling, he received his artistic tendencies. While Kudirka was still in high school he was known for his interesting drawings and as a singer and a talented musician (he later arranged a number of Lithuanian folk songs and dances), as well as a gifted story teller who was even known to write verses. It would have been difficult to foresee that this lively and witty youth, who knew how to enjoy himself and was a good dancer and popular with the fair sex, would grow up to be a determined fighter for national freedom, a man with a strong sense of duty, an influential leader of the Lithuanian nation — all the more difficult since at this time Kudirka (like the greater number of Lithuanian intellectuals, who because of historical circumstances were still strongly under Polish cultural influence) held himself aloof from the nationalist movement. When Kudirka graduated, he did not go to Moscow to study, although a large group of Lithuanian students had gathered there, but rather to Warsaw. He enrolled in the faculty of history and philology, but a year later he switched to medicine.

While Kudirka was studying in Warsaw, and especially during his holidays at home, he heard more and more about the growing nationalist movement. Among his former high school classmates was an active patriot, Jonas Jablonskis, who later became a noted linguist. Jablonskis was then a student in Moscow, and he wrote Kudirka a fiery patriotic letter. It was "Aušra", however, that made a very special impression on Kudirka. He himself has described the moment: "Quickly I leafed through "Aušra" and I do not remember all that was happening within me... I only remember that I stood up, bowed my head, afraid even to look upon the walls of my room... It seemed that I heard the voice of Lithuania speaking, accusing and forgiving at the same time: And you, pridigal, where have you been up to now? Then I became so sad that I laid my head on the table and wept. I grieved for the hours that had been irretrievably erased from my life as a Lithuanian, and was ashamed that for so long I had been a degenerate... After that my breast was filled with a quiet warmth, as if I was gaining new strength... It seemed that I had grown up all at once, and that this world had become too narrow for me... I felt myself mighty and powerful: I felt that I was a Lithuanian." And Kudirka continues: "Soon I became engaged to Lithuanian literature, and to this day I have not deserted my betrothed."

In 1889, Kudirka and some friends founded "Varpas" ("The Bell"), a monthly of liberal ten-

dencies which ceased publication in 1905. This paper was widely read in Lithuania, and it exerted a great influence in forming Lithuanian national and political opinion. It attracted many influential contributors — noted Lithuanian writers such as Žemaitė, Lazdynų Pelėda, Gabrielė Petkevičaitė and Jonas Biliūnas; Antanas Kriščiūkaitis, future president of the Lithuanian Supreme Tribunal; Kazys Grinius, a future president of Lithuania; Petras Leonas, a well-known jurist and later dean of the law faculty of the Lithuanian University; Jonas Jablonskis, the so-called "Father of the Lithuanian Standard Language," and many others. But the principal contributor to "Varpas" and unquestionably its very soul was Vincas Kudirka. Upon "Varpas" he left the imprint of his exceptional personality; to it he consecrated all of his talent and all of his strength, which even then was beginning to fall him; he had an incurable disease that brought an end to his industrious life on Sept. 6, 1899.

It may be that he inherited his weakness for tuberculosis from his mother, who died of it when he was only ten. Unquestionably the financial difficulties of his Warsaw days contributed to the weakening of his health. Another possible factor was the Russian prison in Warsaw, where he spent some time in 1885. His first hemorrhage came in 1889, the year he graduated from the university. It was not easy for him to earn a living as a doctor, as his own health was steadily deteriorating. In 1894 he went to the Crimea in search of a cure, but he soon returned because of insufficient funds. In 1895 he was arrested by the Russian police for his patriotic work and was imprisoned for a short time in Kalvarija. In the fall of the same year he went back to the Crimea, from which he returned in 1896 already a sick man who spent most of his time confined to bed. He relinquished his medical practice but did not sever his connections with "Varpas." He settled in the border town of Naumiestis, so that he might more easily supervise "Varpas," which, like most Lithuanian publications of the time, was being published in East Prussia. Kudirka had to be extremely cautious in his work, since he was suspected by the police. He wrote on very thin paper, which could easily be burned in the flame of a candle should the police knock on his locked door. Thus Kudirka in a room of his small house, rarely visited by anyone (other Lithuanian patriots avoided frequent visits so as not to arouse the suspicions of the police), confined to bed by his illness — wrote his many articles, read proofs and supervised the publication of his newspaper. His words in printed form spread throughout the entire country, arousing a national consciousness and courageously condemning the cruel actions of the Russian administration. As a doctor himself, Kudirka well knew that death was approaching, but this did not lead him to despair; rather, it encouraged him to work with greater speed. In fact, it is amazing how Kudirka calmly mentions his approaching death in his letters, as if in passing. To quote from a letter written to Mykolainis, the publisher of some of his works, on July 15, 1898: "This fall, winter and spring I was confined to bed. Now I can walk, but only in my room. I may survive until winter." He was not concerned with his ebbing life,

only with his work. In his last letter to Mykolainis, written immediately before his death, he still said, "The only thing that worries me is that I may not finish *The Black Earth*; perhaps I will finish it, even though death is watching me very closely." The novel referred to in the letter, which was written on Oct. 10, 1899, was a work of the Polish writer M. Rodziewiczówna that Kudirka was translating. He did not complete the translation; he died within the month.

Kudirka's friends were deeply moved by his iron will and his diligence. Jonas Staugaitis, future president of the Lithuanian parliament, writes in his memoirs: "Whenever I happened to visit Vincas Kudirka, I was always impressed by his appearance: in a small room, on a bed, lay a lean man, almost like a shadow, with a strong gigantic will and burning eyes, and always writing and writing." No less moving was his pure idealism, his complete disregard for the poverty to which he, a sick man, had come. He did not write for personal profit, only to help his country. He once wrote to Mykolaitis: "Since you are aware of my financial status, you will not be surprised at what follows. I would appreciate it if you would forward some money for the second volume of *Kanklės*. I will not specify the amount but leave it up to you to decide, with my work in hand and according to your means, how much you can pay me. Know beforehand that no quarrel will arise between us on this account and that there will be no dissatisfaction on my part — what you can spare will suffice me. And if, after figuring things up, you can send nothing, that too will be fine." The work referred to in this letter is a collection of folk songs that Kudirka had harmonized.

Kudirka's collected writings were published in six large volumes in 1909. He was perhaps most influential through the many polemical articles he wrote for "Varpas"; they appeared in each issue and constituted the section known as *Tėvynės Varpai* ("The Bells of the Fatherland"). Kudirka reacted to the various positive and negative aspects of life in Lithuania with the sharp insight of a talented journalist and the zeal of a patriot. But Kudirka did not arouse his readers as a contributor to the commercial press does, through sensational news stories; rather he aimed at educating the public. He wrote, "Lithuanians must know Lithuania. Each one of us must know where a Lithuanian weeps, where he is happy, where poor and where rich, where he is abandoned and oppressed, where free and happy, in order that we may know who among our brothers needs help, and who can help us; we must know the feelings, thoughts and works of all Lithuanians, so that it will be clear on whom we may rely to defend the fatherland and to bring it happiness."

Kudirka's journalistic works clearly show his talent as a writer and his deeply patriotic spirit, which now rejoices in the event it describes, now laments it, now ironically mocks or is filled with anger against observed evils. In particular, he wrote many angry words describing the wrongs inflicted upon the Lithuanian nation by the Russian government. The notorious Slaughter of Kražiai occurred in 1893 when government Cossacks savagely dispersed a crowd of farmers who had

gathered to defend a Catholic church against a government order that it be closed. Kudirka, disregarding the danger that the author of such an article faced should he be exposed, wrote in great indignation: "The hair stands up on one's head, the blood freezes in the veins when one thinks of Kražiai. To think that such things could happen in a time of humanitarianism and toleration of all kinds, in a time when societies are being founded to discourage the breaking off of twigs from trees, for preventing cruelty to animals and for outlawing the slave trade in savage lands. Do-gooders! Do not hurry to provide protection for the trees and animals of Europe, for in this very Europe there are still human beings who are not free from torture! Do not look to Africa, as if you believed there are no slaves in Europe! Do not forget that in Europe there is Muscovy — behold the land called Lithuania, suffering under the Muscovites; you will find slaves here, crying in a more pitiful voice than those among the savages. And truly, first show your good will in Europe; leave Africa for the future, as a lesser evil. In vain might we search the whole world, we should never find deeds more savage than those in Kražiai. Such atrocities are only possible under the protection of the throne upon which Ivan Groznyj sat. You Neros of ancient times, tremble before the White Tsar — he has surpassed you!"

Kudirka displays the same attitude toward the Russian government in his popular satirical stories *Viršininkai* (the Chiefs), *Lietuvos tilto atsiminimai* (Reminiscences of a Lithuanian Bridge), *Vilkai* (The Wolves) and *Cenzūros klausimu* (On the Question of Censorship). In these stories he sharply derided Russian officials in Lithuania as being ignorant, corrupt and drunkards, oppressors of the people and persecutors of the book smugglers.

Kudirka was concerned with enriching Lithuanian literature, and he left to the Lithuanian reading public translations of several world literary masterpieces: Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, Byron's *Cain* and others.

Kudirka also wrote a number of poems. His poetry is social in content and mirrors his humanitarian spirit. One of his poems was destined to become especially popular, and it eventually became the Lithuanian national anthem: This is his eight-line poem "Lietuva, Tėvyne mūsų" ("Lithuania, Our Fatherland"), which was published in "Varpas" in 1898 along with the music, which he also wrote. Therefore this year also marks the 60th anniversary of the Lithuanian national anthem.

In the poem Kudirka recalls Lithuania's past, from which the present should draw its strength; he exhorts his countrymen to follow in the path of virtue and work for the good of Lithuania; he hopes that the sun will disperse the present

darkness and that light and truth will guide Lithuanian footsteps, that love for Lithuania will burn in her people's hearts and that unity will flourish. As we see, we find expressed here the same social and patriotic ideals that inspired all his work. It might be noted that this poem lacks the somewhat imperialistic note of aggressive designs on foreign territory that characterizes some national anthems.

Kudirka's song quickly became popular in Lithuania, and it was sung so frequently on various patriotic occasions that it soon gained the respect usually shown a national anthem. At the same time it aroused the hostility of the Russian government. The first act of persecution occurred under singular circumstances that reveal the brutishness of the Russian administration. On the night of March 2, 1903, a worker in the pay of the city police mutilated the words of the anthem, which appear on Kudirka's monument in the Naumiestis cemetery. Later, some years before World War I, the government prohibited the singing of the anthem during public concerts. Such acts could not eradicate the song from the people's memory, of course, and after World War I it was made the official Lithuanian national anthem. One can easily understand why it was again banned by the Soviet government following the forcible incorporation of Lithuania into the U.S.S.R. in 1940. Again, government orders did not suffice to make the people forget their anthem, and even today it is a source of patriotic inspiration. Following is an interesting account by a woman who had been deported to Siberia, returned to Kaunas, and in 1957 was able to reach Austria. She describes a young people's demonstration that took place in Kaunas on Lithuanian Independence Day (February 16) in 1957: "At ten o'clock...we went home. I live, as I have mentioned, next to the executive committee. Above my apartment is a student dormitory. The students were indescribably noisy today, and I could not get to sleep. Old Lithuanian songs were being sung again and again. Suddenly a very loud commotion woke me. It was midnight. The national anthem was being sung on the Avenue of Freedom. Putting on my coat and forgetting all danger, I rushed out to the street. In the darkness I saw a mass of people. O God, they were all youths. They could not confine them under house arrest. Singing the national anthem, they advanced on the executive committee. I was moved by the clearly sung words: 'Lithuania, our fatherland...' Only on strange occasions is the anthem sung." ("I Laisvė" (Toward Freedom), No. 15, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1958.)

And so we see that even today the words that Kudirka wrote 60 years ago are not only being sung in the free world but are also heard in occupied Lithuania, like a clear symbol of a free and independent Lithuania.

LITHUANIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

Words and Music by Vincas Kudirka



Lie-tu-va, Tė-vy-ne mūsų, Tu did-vy-rių žė-me,
 Iš pra-ei-ties Tą-vo sū-nūs Tė-sti-pry-bę se-mia.
 Tė-gul Tą-vo vai-kai ei-na vien-ta-kais do-ry-bės,
 Tė-gul dir-ba Tą-vo nau-dai Ir žmō-nių ge-ry-bei.
 Tė-gul sau-lė Lie-tu-vos Tam-sa-mus pra-ša-li-na
 Ir švie-sa ir tie-sa Mūs žingniuste-ly-di-
 Tė-gul mi-lė Lie-tu-vos De-ga mūsų šir-dy-se.
 Var-dantos Lie-tu-vos Vie-ny-bė te-žy—di.

ORIGINAL WORDS

Lietuva, Tėvynė mūsų
 Tu didvyrių žemė,
 Iš praeities tavo sūnūs
 Te stiprybę semia.

Tegul tavo vaikai eina
 Vien takais dorybės,
 Tegul dirba tavo naudai
 Ir žmonių gėrybei!

Tegul saulė Lietuvos
 Tamsumus prašalina
 Ir šviesa ir tiesa
 Mūs žingsnius telydi!

Tegul meilė Lietuvos
 Dega mūsų širdyse,
 Vardan tos Lietuvos
 Vienybė težydi.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Lithuania, land of heroes
 Thou beloved fatherland
 From the glorious deeds of ages
 Shall thy sons take heart.

Let thy children, day by day,
 Stride upon the virtuous way
 Let them labour for thy glory
 And the good of man.

May the sun of Lithuania
 Clear the darkness of the night,
 And may light and may truth
 Guide our steps aright.

May the love of Lithuania
 Flame forever in our hearts
 In the name of Lithuania
 Let unity reign.



BERNARDAS BRAZDŽIONIS

PORTRAIT BY A. VARNAS

Two generations of Lithuanian poets came to maturity between the two world wars.

The outstanding representatives of the first group are Vincas Mykolas — Putinas (born 1893), Balys Sruoga (1896-1947), Kazys Binkis (1893-1942) and Faustas Kirša (born 1891). These poets are in general characterized by their use of symbolism and to an extent by their modernism. They did not confine themselves to poetry but also wrote fiction (Mykolas — Putinas), plays (Binkis and Sruoga), literary criticism and literary history.

The second group concentrated mainly on poetry, and lyric poetry in particular. If any of them did wander into another field, it was primarily literary criticism and history. The most prominent lyricists of this generation are Jonas Aistis (born 1904), Salomėja Neris (1904-1945), Antanas Miškinis (born 1905) and Bernardas Brazdžionis (born 1907). Some of these poets are characterized by their subtlety and mastery of expression others by a classical clarity; some discovered new uses for folklore elements while others are noted for their synthesis of the traditional and the modern. In the last-mentioned tendency, Bernardas Brazdžionis especially distinguishes himself.

Brazdžionis is probably the most prolific member of this group; so far he has published about a dozen collections of poetry, the first of which appeared in 1926. In his second collection, *Amžinas žydas* (The Eternal Jew), published in 1931, the poet's new and unique tendency is already defined. His creative development continued in the collections *Krintančios žvaigždės* (Falling Stars); *Ženkilai ir Stebuklai* (Signs and Wonders); *Kunigaikščių Miestas* (City of Princes), which won the state

literary prize in 1940: *Viešpaties žingsniai* (Footsteps of the Lord) and *Per Pasaulį Keliauja Žmogus* (Man Traverses the World).

In these and other collections, Brazdžionis showed himself a modern poet from the standpoint of form and content. At the same time, however, he was in close contact with the national traditions; at times his poetry is almost an echo of the ancient Lithuanian hymns. This is the source of another of his traits — a religious tone that sounds with the wrath and force of the Old Testament prophets. It is not surprising then, that his poems are filled with Old Testament names and place names, which gives his verses a strange, prophetic note. His poems are also prophetic in their vision. Before the Second World War he wrote, in *Ženklių Psalmė* (The Psalm of Signs), words that prophesy, as it were the coming reality:

Ezekiel's forgotten psalms

Turn and return like shattered quiet to my mind,

And they shall lead the orphan soul of parents old

Beyond the Bible, beyond Kaunas, and beyond Naim.

Governments will collapse, pale, shadowlike, cabins

Fall, and multi-million banks corrode;

The lights will die in Boston, Liverpool, will die in Moscow, Kaunas and Nazareth

In darkness nations will blindly grope.

Another facet of Bernardas Brazdžionis' poetry is the patriotic one; here it is as if he renews and extends the tradition of the noted poet Maironis (1862-1932). We find many patriotic

poems in *Kunigaikščių Miestas*, in which the poet makes use of images from Lithuanian history. He deals in especially intimate fashion with the sufferings of his homeland, the tragedy of his nation and the difficult exile in which many Lithuanians found themselves. Since the poet is so sensitive to the history of his times, it is hardly surprising that he does not avoid political poetry. "Ekskursija į UNO" ("Excursion to the United Nations"), in the collection *Didžioji Kryžkelė* (*The Great Crossroads*), will serve as an example of this type.

"The Red Sea, I know it, Mr. Chairman, I have been rescued from its flood.

It circles Asia, Europe, Africa, it overlays
The sun of Finland like a lampshade made of blood,

And in the pipelines of Iran it rears its
hellish flames.

Brazdžionis is capable of striking a tone quite different from these hard and threatening ones—a sensitive, soft, harmonious tone: playful, if you wish. And when necessary he is capable of expressing himself in strict classical forms. Here is a brief excerpt that illustrates this other side of Brazdžionis:

Our life — a soft-fleeced honeybee —
Late at night at the hive will alight;
The song will be done, the frost will gently
breathe,

Like thoughts of God we will assemble by the
gate.

THE PILLAR OF FIRE

*One life, like a sailboat on the seas,
Far away rides out the calms;
Another, like a beggar on his knees,
Never stops begging for alms.*

*One life like a tall pillar of fire
For the nations and countries glows;
Another, a hurricane into the mire
Like a broken tulip throws.*

*Singing over the good earth I walk.
I see old beggars in crowds,
Beyond them God's harvest ripening on the
stalk,*

And the seas, and the boats, and the clouds.

*I see the shining pillar of fire;
Its light floods over my face —
Closing my eyes to the flame I aspire,
Walking the earth, the heavenly trails I trace.*

Translated by Sofija Tomaras

PROCESSION TO CHRIST

*Above dales where the camomile flowers
And where caraway scents are abounding,
Above towns in which ills overpower,
Above bights where the pleasure-craft founder,*

*Above earth and its smile's petrefaction,
Above steel and artillery thunder,
Trough the dance of remote constellations,
There is thrust out a bleeding reminder.*

*And the rivers stream down as in labor,
Bearing sin's heavy care in their waters.
From the pale upward palms of the Saviour
Mark the blood down emaciate fingers.*

*Listen, you in those white marble churches,
And you inmates of underground oil-wells,
With your strikes and hobnobbing with*

murder

And all you that are dancing or hopeless—

*The tall bells cry to faith and unheeding
And hosannas help form a procession.
Ah, how, little by little, the bleeding
Drops are caught in the heart in recession!*

*Risen Christ of the flowering springtime,
Drip eternally into the chalice!
See, towards you we tend in our singing
And these drum-beats and high trumpets'*
flourish.

Translated by W. K. Matthews

But this does not exhaust Brazdžionis' work. He is possibly the favorite writer of children's literature in Lithuanian literature. His poems such as "Meškiukas Rudnosiukas" ("The Brown-Nosed Baby-Bear") have become classics of the genre. It might be noted that the poetry intended for children is signed with the pen name Vyta Nemunėlis.

It is further necessary to mention his work as a literary critic, in which field he has done considerable research. He has given us some valuable articles on Lithuanian writers. He has recently edited a two-volume anthology of Lithuanian prose; the first volume has appeared, and the second is at the printers.

Brazdžionis has also taught in a number of schools and edited several magazines. At present he is editor-in-chief of the monthly "Lietuvių Dienos" ("Lithuanian Days"), which is published in Los Angeles, California.

Aug. Taginis

Dawn of Free Criticism in Soviet Lithuanian Literature

BY VINCAS TRUMPA

1. Criticism or Revisionism?

It would probably be going too far to compare *Studentai* (the Students), a novel by Vytautas Rimkevicius that appeared in occupied Lithuania several years ago, with *Not By Bread Alone*, by Vladimir Dudintsev, or Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*. The author of *Studentai* is a young Lithuanian writer, almost completely unknown except to the several thousands who read and admired his book, while the two Russian novels were considered events of world literary importance and one even received the Nobel Prize for Literature. *Studentai* was published officially, by the State Publishing House in Vilnius, though it had to seek an underground path to the West.

It is probable that these works are not of equal literary merit, although it might be argued that no Soviet work is valuable by literary or esthetic criteria alone. For we cannot forget that in the Soviet Union literature, as well as art, is primarily a social function. The only literary school fostered by the government, socialist realism, itself indicates the criteria to be used in judging its products: The judgment must be based primarily on sociological grounds, not esthetic ones. Therefore the novels of Pasternak and Dudintsev would not have evoked as much comment as they did on their literary merits alone.

And these sociological criteria justify comparing *Studentai* with the above-mentioned novels, as Soviet critics have done. These authors are called revisionists and decadents; they are condemned as writers of "black literature" and as being under the influence of bourgeois trends. Actually all these terms, like the vaunted concept of socialist realism itself, have been devised by the Soviets themselves and have no clearly defined meanings; they are clichés or alogans that are given meanings to fit the need. The very indeterminacy of the terms makes them dangerous, in the same way that the dreaded term "enemy of the people" (which at the moment, fortunately, is going out of fashion) was dangerous in Stalin's time.

In these novels — *Doctor Zhivago*, *Not By Bread Alone*, *Studentai*, Marek Hlasko's *The Cemetery*, and a number of others that have appeared in the Soviet Union, China and the satellites — the spirit of free criticism appears for almost the first time in the Communist world. It is true that it was possible and even mandatory to criticize before, but the objects of this criticism could be only the enemies of the Soviet regime — bourgeois nationalists, capitalists, priests — and never the Soviet order itself. Since Lenin's announcement that the opposition possesses only a single right, the right to prison, criticism of the Soviet system has been impossible, just as those differences of opinion that are the basis of true criticism have been impossible.

Now *Doctor Zhivago* himself, and Dudintsev's Lomakin, and Rimkevicius' Liucijus not only dare to criticize, but they elevate criticism to occupy a place among the basic principles of human progress. At one point Liucijus muses as follows: "Free criticism. We can criticize, whatever we wish.... In criticizing we seek." This is an expression of a new spirit that can be found from China to the Baltic and Adriatic Seas and which up to now has been rarely noted in Soviet literature.

There can be no question that the Soviets fear criticism of this type more than they fear anything else, for it presupposes differences of opinion and freedom. In another place "It seemed to him that his time was coming, that his hopes were being fulfilled. In class today he had said that our literature was primitive, unworthy of being studied by the people. Few had dared to contradict him. The Young Communists were silent. Perhaps they disagreed with Liucijus, but they remained silent." Pasternak expresses the same ideas, transferred from the university to a more universal level, as he muses in the epilogue of his work that "the portents of freedom filled the air throughout the postwar period, and they defined its historical significance."

In their war against that epochal manifestation, free criticism, the Soviets devised the concepts of revisionism, deviationism, political Daltonism and others. The fear of criticism and freedom is the greatest fear of any totalitarian regime: This is why Pasternak was ejected from the Writer's Union and threatened with exile from the Soviet Union; this is why Rimkevicius' novel was prevented from reaching the West. This may be the only fear the Communists have, for they can make atomic and other weapons, they can achieve technological progress and turn deserts into productive land, but they can never permit their people the right of free criticism. And this constitutes one of the great problems of the age, a problem that manifests itself primarily in literature and art, since art without freedom or a thirst for freedom is completely impossible.

2. The Sad Balance of Soviet Literature

Up to now the Soviet leaders have been of the opinion that it is better not to have a literature than to risk the disintegration of the Soviet empire. Liucijus' just-quoted description of the primitive state of literature is a sad but indubitable truth, and it applies not only to occupied Lithuania but to the whole of the Soviet Union. This was admitted by M. Sholokhov at the Second Congress of Soviet Writers in 1954 (that is, immediately

after Stalin's death). And as recently as this year, Alexei Surkov, secretary of the Soviet Writer' Union, admitted to a correspondent of the German periodical "Der Monat" that during the last two decades of the Stalin era only three worth-while novels had been published: Vol. 4 of Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don*, Vol. 3 of Alexei Tolstoy's *Ordeals* and the final volume of the same author's *Peter the First* ("Der Monat," September, 1958). And of the younger poets he could mention only Tvardovsky.

The darkest period, the true Dark Ages, of Russian literature is approximately the years 1934 to 1954, or the period between the First and Second Writer' Union Congresses. This is at the same time pre-animously the age of socialist realism. At the first congress this dogma was solemnly proclaimed as the only esthetic possible in the Soviet Union. It can be said that with the death of Maxim Gorky, in 1936, Russian literature also died. It is no exaggeration to say that these two decades contributed almost nothing to Russian literature. It is understandable that even Pasternak was silent during this time.

If this is the balance of Russian literature during this time, the balance of the literatures of Soviet-occupied nations is an even sadder one. The strict formula that these literatures be "socialist in content and national in form" placed them in a real Procrustes' bed. Most of the nations that fell under Soviet domination in 1918-1920 could not even begin to create a national literature, while others, such as the Baltic states, which were occupied in 1940, were forced to forget their literary traditions and sing the only permissible song, the "song of Stalin." And such leftist Lithuanian writers as Salomeja Neris and Petras Cvirka, who had matured in independent Lithuania, were sadly disappointed with socialist realism and wrote nothing of literary value after 1940. They were shackled by the formula "socialist in content and national in form." Petras Cvirka (1909-1947) complained in the last of his minor pieces that it was easier for the Russians to adapt themselves to these conditions, since after all it had been they who had created them. And Salomeja Neris (1904-1945) experienced a profound artistic and personal tragedy as early as 1940-1941, as can be seen from the memoirs of her friend Ignas Malenas ("Aidai," June, 1958).

There can be no doubt that the same feelings prevailed in the satellites, the so-called people's democracies. Their feelings are best represented by the already mentioned Marek Hlasko (b. 1930), who gave his novel the symbolic name *The Cemetery*. Hlasko chose as a motto for this novel a passage from Gogol's *Dead Souls*: "There is only one decent man amongst us; but even he, to tell the truth, is a pig." Hlasko was subjected to severe criticism and was forced to seek asylum in West Berlin.

3. But Miracles Do Happen, After All

The mood experienced by the Soviet people during these two decades reminds one of Palestine during the times of Herod (37-4 B.C.) and John The Baptist. For all of the vast technical and architectural progress for which Herod was called "the Great" — as Stalin, too, sometimes is — the oppressed people of Palestine had nothing to look forward to but a miracle. And that miracle; it was cursed. Stalin's death was a similar miracle; it was

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followed by what is called in chemistry a chain reaction. Galina Nikolaeva shows this very well in her novel *A Battle on the Way*. (In 1957, "Soviet Literature" began to publish an English version of this work; according to my information, at least, it has never appeared in book form in Russia.) She begins her story with Stalin's funeral, which everyone hoped was to bring something new, though what no one so far could or dared to prophesy.

Possibly the first to define this hope was Ilya Ehrenburg, who is always most courageous when the danger is least and always something of a coward when the danger is real. Perhaps on this account, he was awarded many Stalin prizes. His novel *The Thaw*, which is insignificant as literature but interesting as a historical and sociological phenomenon, appeared in 1954. The name is, of course, symbolic, and in the novel he analyzed Soviet reality in a timid but still critical manner. His novel received great, and probably unmerited, notice inside and outside the Soviet Union. Some have called the whole period "the Thaw."

Many who had not yet shaken off the Stalinist traditions, especially among the writer-bureaucrats who had been so favored by Stalin, were alarmed at Ehrenburg's mild criticism and irony, and a flood of attacks on him appeared in the press. And while Sholokhov and others were courageously criticizing the literature of the 1934-1954 period at the Second Writers' Union Congress in 1954, Ehrenburg was humbly apologizing and promising to sin no more.

Nevertheless, a new and unexpected miracle occurred not long after. This was Khrushchev's famous de-Stalinization speech at the 20th Party Congress in 1955. Although this speech was secret and was never printed in the Communist press, it received wide publicity in the Soviet Union itself and especially among the satellites, because of Western communications techniques. Some of the ideas contained in the speech, such as the struggle against the cult of personality and against dogmatism, gained wide and open currency in Soviet political and cultural life.

In any case, Khrushchev's critical views of Stalin opened the way to criticism of the Soviet system in general. This showed itself in literature that appeared in 1956-1957, which is sometimes referred to as the age of iconoclasm — an epithet that refers to the reversion from the worship of idols and the open treatment of Soviet reality. Articles attacking the customary gilding of that reality and opposing pompousness and the no-conflict theory appeared. A different view was taken of the so-called literary heritage, and some writers who had nothing in common with revolutionary traditions gained notice. As for the occupied nations, all this meant the rejection of the "socialist in content and national in form" doctrine.

All this did not pass unnoticed in occupied Lithuania and its literature. It was reflected in the Tenth Congress of the Lithuanian Communist



PETRAS KIAULĖNAS

SUNSET

Party, held in February, 1958. At the congress no less a personage than Antanas Sniečkus, First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, stated, "Any nihilism concerning the Lithuanian literary and artistic heritage, from the viewpoint of the people's art, is foreign to us." At another point he said, "In unmasking the bourgeois order, we Communists place a high value on all that was created by the Lithuanian people in various fields during the bourgeois years". Sniečkus went so far as to chastise the writer J. Paukštelis because he painted in his novel *Pirmieji Metai* (*The First Years*) too bleak a picture of life in bourgeois Lithuania. This same Sniečkus brought out the need for a true valuation of Dr. Vincas Kudirka, who up to this time was never even mentioned.

It is not surprising that the literary critics went somewhat further than the Party secretary. It is primarily pure literature, pure art that they seek in the literary heritage; at the same time however, they come in contact with the content of that literature, and they seek here new inspiration for present-day literature. And thus in late 1957 and early 1958 an interesting polemic arose between two noted critics, Vytautas Kubilius and Kazys Ambrasas, concerning the literary heritage of Balys Sruoga, a writer of independent Lithuania. The first, representing the critical tendency, dared to write that Sruoga's ideas had given a new direction to the Lithuanian literary tradi-

tion founded by Vaižgantas and now being continued by Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas, another writer of independent Lithuania who after a long silence had recently published a historical-patriotic novel, *Sukileliai* (*The Rebels*). Such a daring idea appeared unacceptable to K. Ambrasas, who more or less represented the Partyline. He did not reject either Sruoga or Vaižgantas or Mykolaitis-Putinas, but he expressed the hope that the younger writers might learn stylistic mastery from them while remaining uncontaminated by their bourgeois ideas — a very popular concept in Soviet literature.

When the writers and critics engaged in this more sober evaluation of the literature of the past, they could not help comparing it with Soviet literature and noting how insignificant the latter really was. It is in this sense that Liucijus' musings in *Studentai* must be understood. Obviously it was necessary to seek the causes of this state of affairs. And they were forced to the natural conclusion that a chief cause of this literary decline was the insincerity of the writing. In spite of all the so-called demands of socialist realism, it was necessary to present a blasted view of life in order to please the Party. And this resulted in the pomposity, empty heroics and avoidance of conflict that even now the Party critics are condemning.

4. "Black Literature" or the Search for Truth?

Once the above-mentioned traits of "Stalinist" literature were abandoned, it was not difficult to

take the next step and present Soviet reality as it really is. Therefore many writers engaged in attempts to correct the biased view contained in the earlier works; during these attempts they could not avoid revealing those dark spots that up to now they had been forced to conceal.

Obviously, to the dogmatic critics who followed the old line any work that attempted to be critical of the Soviet system amounted to libel. To describe such libel they coined the term "black literature" and applied it to the works of Nikolaeva, Dudintsev, Hlasko and, of course, Pasternak. They went so far as to consider these writers an organized group working against the Soviet system. If this were so, then they must have their roots in the capitalist West and its "decadent" literature. Joyce, Camus and especially Kafka became, in the eyes of the dogmatic critics, inspirers and protagonists of the "black literature." Actually, they could have found examples of this "black" writing much closer to home — in Khrushchev's famous speech for example, which described with great clarity the macabre atmosphere that reigned during the final years of Stalin's life.

Basically, the so-called "black literature" is nothing else but an attempt by certain writers to expose the "big lie" that had blanketed the whole of the Soviet Union. In this sense we can agree with Pasternak when he told a Swedish correspondent that in the Soviet Union one must hate what man loves and love what man hates. We can easily imagine the difficulties a writer finds himself in when he is asked to keep in close touch with Soviet life yet at the same time to depict it as other than it really is. His situation becomes still worse when he is asked to abandon the techniques of "Stalinist" literature.

But when he attempts to criticize that reality, however mildly, as Rimkevičius did in *Studentai*, he becomes the target of savage attacks. In Rimkevičius' case we might quote R. Lukinskas that the novelist "has surrendered to the easy fashion of criticizing the negative aspects of life without having considered from what positions and with what aims he criticizes" (*"Literatūra ir menas"*) (*"Literature and Art"*), April 26, 1958). The critic does not attempt to show that the writer errs in thus depicting Soviet life; he bases his criticism on the fact that it may hurt the Soviet system and help its enemies.

It would not seem that all those writers who today are called revisionists or deviationists have these dark aims in mind. In reality, their primary concern is simply literature and art. The noted critic J. Lankutis may have guessed their intentions correctly when he wrote "It is very pleasing that today we argue less about what kind of poetry is the best — the so-called people's, or pure lyrical, or descriptive, or narrative, etc. Obviously we need all kinds; what is important is that the poetry be good, and that it foster good ideas and feelings" (*"Pergalė"*) (*"Victory"*) June, 1958).

But good poetry and prose is always that poetry and prose which is faithful to itself, which does not give an artificial misrepresentation of life but is based on the truth as the writer sees it. The writer must first of all be faithful to himself, to his thoughts and feeling. The young critic R. Rostovaitis has written an interesting article to

this effect, with the symbolic title "The Most Beautiful Song-Truth" (*"Pergalė"*, July, 1958). At the beginning of the article she pays her due to the misty Communist truth, but she goes on to write about the truth of reality, of feeling of experience, the truth of literary methods and the comprehension of one's era. As might be expected, she was subjected to sharp criticism for this article from the conformist side. Nevertheless, the fact that such ideas can be discussed at all in the Lithuanian press is a very encouraging sign.

J. Dovydaitis has been even bolder. Among other things, he came out in defense of the widely read short story *Padaigos Mirtis* (*The Death of Podaiga*), by the young writer A. Markevičius. Many critics, among them K. Ambrasas, not only condemned the book as an example of "black literature" but also attempted to impugn its literary value. "It is strange that some critics have greeted this young writer as a complete vilifier of reality," J. Dovydaitis wrote of these critics (*"Literatūra ir menas"*, June, 1958). "Such a view of a writer's observations and his sincere desire to condemn what he considers to be evil reminds one of the belchings of yesterday's critics-vulgarizers." He goes on to say that the primary asset of a writer is courage. As for the novel's literary worth, this is sufficiently proved by the fact that the Poles quickly translated the novel and published it in the magazine *"Przyjazn"* (*"Friendship"*). In general, the Soviets use the tactic of denigrating the literary worth of any work that is ideologically unacceptable, as if they were greatly concerned about literary values.

It is gratifying to note that in spite of threats and attacks we find even among Lithuanian writers some who pledge themselves to follow art and truth. It will suffice to mention the names of a few younger writers. In this category we find Justinas Marcinkevičius (b. 1930), some of whose poetry — especially his *Poemas apie žodžius* (*Poems on Words*) is marked not only by its high artistic quality but also by a profound experience of reality. Another young writer is Algimantas Baltakis (b. 1930), whose collection *Velnio Tiltas* (*The Devil's Bridge*) is unquestionably an example of good lyric poetry. Still another is Kazys Saja (v. 1932), whose comedy *Septynios ožkenos* (*The Seven She-Goats*) satirizes the evils of Soviet life. Even E. Maželaitis and A. Jonynas have recently written some good poems with a deep insight into real life and the human soul.

Consideration of these and other writers leads one to the conclusion that something new is being born in Soviet Lithuanian literature. Obviously, these are only scattered phenomena; there is a great distance to go before a full and sincere literary life is achieved. Attacks on these writers have been stepped up recently, giving rise to great anxiety and fear that literature will return to the age of cruel dogmatism rather than continuing its development in the direction of truth and creative freedom. This will to some extent be clarified during the forthcoming Third Writer's Union Congress, for which feverish preparations are now being made. This Congress will show whether Soviet Lithuanian literature can continue to use the privilege, however slight, of free criticism or will it regress to the "Dark Ages". Without doubt, its further development will depend upon the answer to this question.

LITHUANIA MINOR

Studia Lituanica I — Mažoji Lietuva (Lithuania Minor), published by the Lithuanian Research Institute, Inc., New York, 1953. 328 pp.

Even though Lithuania is a small country with a small population, there are two Lithuanias: Major and Minor. The division is not an artificial one but is a result of the historical development of the Lithuanian nation. Lithuania Major is that area which from the 13th to the end of the 18th centuries constituted the core of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and which after 1795 passed under Russian rule. But to the west there lay lands that were inhabited by Lithuanians yet never belonged to a historical Lith. state. These lands were conquered by the Teutonic Knights as early as the 13th century, and later they became part of the Kingdom of Prussia; they make up the northern areas of so-called East Prussia. Up to the end of the 18th century these areas were referred to simply as "Litauen" in the administrative division of East Prussia. Even today, Lithuanians refer to the area as Lithuania Minor.

When the Lithuanian state was reconstituted in 1918, these Lithuanian lands remained outside the boundaries of Lithuania. Only the northernmost part of the region, the Klaipėda (Memel) area to the north of Nemunas River, joined the Lithuanian Republic in 1923, and in 1939 it reverted to Germany as the result of an ultimatum.

The first volume of *Studia Lituanica* contains five studies of Lithuania Minor. Dr. M. Gimbutas surveys the prehistory of the area; Juozas Lingis writes of the use of the plow for cultivating the soil in Lithuania Major and Lithuania Minor. Each study is illustrated and heavily documented. The text is in Lithuanian with English and German summaries; biographical sketches of the authors appear in all three languages.

Dr. M. Gimbutas, a recognized expert on the prehistory of Eastern Europe and author of the book *The Prehistory of Eastern*

Europe I (Peabody Museum, Harvard University Bulletin No. 20), after surveying the findings of other students of the area, states that there were no population shifts after 2000 B.C.; from that time up to historical times there is a cultural continuity here, the work of a single ethnic group. These people maintained extensive trade relations with far-distant countries, to which they sent the area's chief export commodity, amber. Because of this extensive trade the area between the Vistula and Nemunas had already become part of the culture of central Europe by the Bronze Age. The time of this cultural flowering coincides with the first centuries of the Christian era. The area was not directly involved in the barbarian migrations, though these did disrupt the ancient trade routes. Relations with Scandinavia began to develop in the 7th century, and with this we reach historical times. Written sources dealing with this area date from the 1st century A.D. There are few of them from the earliest period, but there are enough to furnish ample testimony that there were no population shifts for more than a millennium, that the 13th century Prussians and related tribes were the direct descendants of the people called by Tacitus and later writers the "Aesti."

This survey of some 3,000 years of prehistory brings the author to the conclusion that the culture of these people is in essence similar to that of the other Baltic peoples (the Lithuanians and Latvians). She discovers no evidence to support that latter-day German nationalistic theories that attempt to explain certain cultural aspects of the area as due to the influence of Germanic cultures or even the immigration of Germanic people. The author also concludes that the influence of the Goths, whose lands for several centuries bordered on those of the Prussians, was slight. Gothic loan-words in the Baltic language are often adduced as evidence of this supposed influence, but such loan-words are few, numbering

less than ten. No evidence of other foreign cultural influence is discovered either. The author's final conclusion is that during some 3 thousand years of prehistory the Prussian lands constituted a unit of uninterrupted cultural evolution, with close ties with other Baltic peoples — the Lithuanians and Latvians — and that they can be definitely distinguished from their neighbors to the west and south, with whom they merely maintained normal trade relations.

Juozas Lingis defended a dissertation on plows at the University of Stockholm in 1952. In this study, he shows that plows of two types predominated in the Baltic areas, and that the western limits of their use approximate the western boundaries of the Baltic settlements.

Jugis Gimbutas surveys the farmhouse types and village architecture of Lithuania Minor. He reaches the same conclusions as earlier investigators of the subject, namely, that the farm buildings of the indigenous population of Lithuania Minor are of the same type as those of Lithuania Major from the point of view of arrangement and architecture, and that they are clearly distinguishable from the types of Germanic village architecture, introduced into the area by German colonists. The author finds the limit of this Lithuanian village architecture to lie substantially to the south of the Pregel River. This study is extensively illustrated.

The first examples of Lithuanian folklore reached the scholarly world by way of Lithuania Minor. Here the first collections of Lithuanian folk poetry were prepared and translated into German in the 18th and early 19th centuries. New collections appeared during the 19th and 20th centuries, although during this time Lithuania Major caught up with and surpassed Lithuania Minor. However, the riches of Lithuanian folklore were still unexhausted even as late as the last war. Here Jonas Balys analyzes the words of 40 typical folk songs of Lithuania Minor and concludes that 24 of

them are unique to this area, 12 others are more or less known in parts of Lithuania Major while the four others are familiar in all areas inhabited by Lithuanians. His conclusions are in agreement with those of the German E. Seemann, who has made a special study of the question. It would seem that during the two centuries when the German colonists lived side by side with the native Lithuanians in Lithuania Minor, their influence on the native folklore was negligible, even though the Germans are at times referred to in these folk songs.

Juozas Žilėvičius reaches a similar conclusion in his survey of the folk music of Lithuania Minor. There are foreign influences, but they do not destroy the native originality. Approximately 70 percent of the melodies are common with those of Lithuania Major, although they retain a more archaic form here, a fact that the author attributes to the fact that the inhabitants of Lithuania Mi-

nor lived in single settlements and that therefore the conditions for community singing were absent. Besides, the predominant Lutheran faith condemned secular singing. And therefore, while the fields and forests of Lithuania Major rang with songs, the songs in Lithuania Minor found themselves "in the underground," as it were, and could get around only with difficulty. On the other hand, the folk melodies here had a greater influence on the religious music itself; the Lutheran hymns were for the most part borrowed from the German, but only a few kept their original German melodies. The same hymns were sung in the same church in one form during services in German and in another form (as can be seen from a Lithuanian hymnal published by Hoffheinz in 1894) during services in Lithuanian.

Lithuania Minor's folk music instruments are identical with those of Lithuania Major, except that some instruments disappear-

ed from use in Lith. Minor because the Lutherans frowned on all secular music, not only singing.

It may be said in concluding this review that all the authors agree in the conclusion that Lithuania Minor maintained extremely close cultural ties with Lithuania Major from prehistoric times, although the two regions were politically separate. This is not a new theory but one that is commonly accepted in all scholarly literature on the subject. The authors clarify and expand some aspects of the theory. It is true that many points were explained differently in Nazi Germany, since an attempt was made there to discover influences of German culture where such influences never existed. Obviously, however, there was no need for the authors of this book to comment at any length on these political theories, whose very foundations had been disproved by earlier German science.

Dr. A. Šapoka

THE WORLD LITHUANIAN COMMUNITY

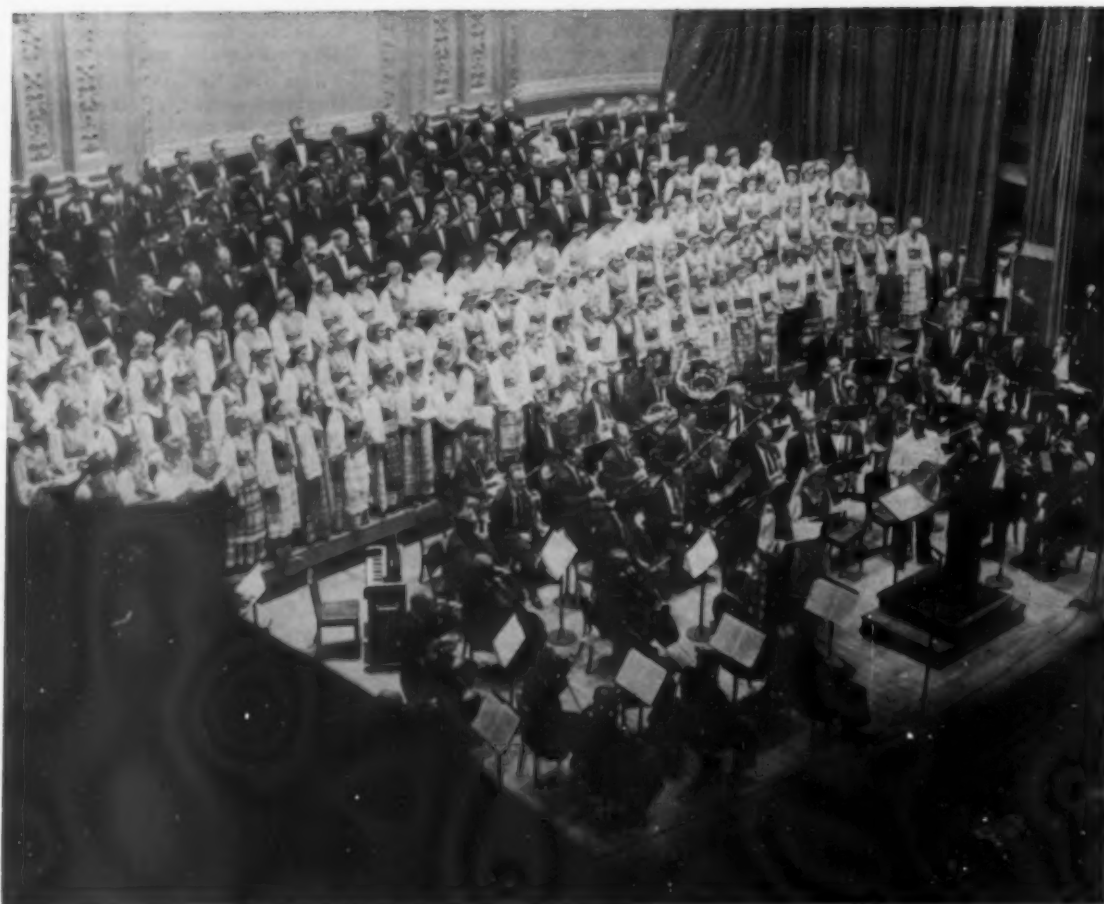
On the 28-31 of August, the World Lithuanian Congress took place in New York City. Concurrently a representative exhibition of Lithuanian art and a chamber music concert were presented, at the Riverside Museum; while in Carnegie Hall the combined forces of four choirs, soloists and a symphony orchestra performed. Thousands of Lithuanians from the U.S.A. and other Western countries gathered in New York City for the occasion. 112 official delegates to the congress represented Western countries having substantial Lithuanian colonies, including the United States, Canada, England, Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Germany, France, Italy and others. In all these countries Lithuanians have already been organized into national communities. And with this congress the process of welding these national groupings into one World Lithuanian Community reached its conclu-

sion. In view of this occasion we would like to acquaint our readers with the reasons for the existence of the Lithuanian World Community and with the ideas upon which this community is based.

What needs did originally evoke the idea of a World Lithuanian Community? The old immigrants founded many organizations, particularly in the United States, where Lithuanians are most numerous (up to 500,000 or more). The new immigrants, the former displaced persons, also founded many organizations upon their arrival in the various countries. And truly, there was no need for another organization, but there was a need to combine all of the Lithuanians scattered throughout numerous countries and numerous organizations into one. The need was two-fold.

On the one hand, every organization not only unites but also separates. A religious organization, obviously, cannot in-

clude atheists among its members and inversely, Christians do not belong to a society of freethinkers. And if in other cases the division is not as extreme, it still exists. This differentiation leads to certain tensions which may develop into real conflicts. It is natural, that free men differ in their opinions. But from the national point of view there is a danger that these differences will obscure the essential point: national ties. Lithuanian unity is the central idea upon which the World Lithuanian Community is based. In principle, this community unites all Lithuanians without exception, for it excludes only those who have sold themselves to the Soviet Union. These are a minority of the older immigrants who have been deluded by Communism. Regardless of the individual's religious, political or social views, the Lithuanian Community unites all into one body, the heart of which is Lithuanian



CONCERT AT CARNEGIE HALL

PHOTO V. MAZELIS

brotherhood and Lithuanian consciousness. Lithuanian brotherhood bridges all differences, while Lithuanian consciousness illuminates the fact that in any battle the essential tie cannot be forgotten. The Lithuanian Community, in organized form expresses the Lithuanian will to preserve their nationality according to the slogan, "Lithuanians we were born, Lithuanians we must remain."

Secondly, it is necessary that the natural feeling of brotherhood become a united will to preserve it from degeneration into futile sentimentalism. Individual organizations (religious, fraternal and others) can only fulfill the limited functions for

which they were founded. But they cannot perform those functions which demand the joint effort of all. Yet the refugees have the duty of preserving all the activities and institutions of the free cultural life which in normal times are fostered by the state. For the realization of these common aims the Lithuanian refugees united into a World Lithuanian Community. The genesis of the idea first occurred some ten years ago among displaced persons living in Germany at that time. These people had abandoned their native land, not of their own free will, but due to force. Some had been deported by the Nazis for forced labor

in Germany. Others fled their homeland from the approaching Communist terror. Both groups tragically experienced the loss of Lithuanian independence, when the end of the war did not bring her freedom but a second occupation by Communist forces. Whether Nazi deportees or Soviet refugees, both found themselves sharing the common fate of a refugee. Having no other alternative, they emigrated to various countries. Although grateful and loyal to the new countries which accepted them, they, nevertheless, remain a unique kind of newcomers — immigrants with the consciousness of political refugees. The normal immigrants

leave their homeland in search for a better livelihood and more or less sever their ties with the native land. They exchange homelands hoping for a better and happier environment. A political refugee, on the contrary, does not seek a higher standard of living but is primarily fighting his political fate. Not the search for happiness, but rather loyalty to one's self is the main concern of such a refugee.

For many of them personal welfare problems hardly exist; during the ten years of immigrational life a comfortable standard of living has been achieved. Usually newcomers would be quite satisfied with this achievement, but a comfortable standard of living is not sufficient for political immigrants. Personal welfare cannot supplant the feeling of tragedy in face of the threatened destruction of one's nation. Nations are mortal. In this age it is not difficult to annihilate a nation of about three millions. Genocide is being carried out in Lithuania while the world is silent and refuses to see what it does not want to see. No Lithuanian, faced with this tragic possibility, can remain satisfied only with personal well-being and enjoy his personal happiness. The question does not concern only the restoration of a Lithuanian state, but it involves the life or death of the whole Lithuanian nation. In view of this, every Lithuanian exerts the will to remain within his own nationality regardless of the country assigned to him by fate. The World Lithuanian Community is the best means of expressing the will of Lithuanians in the free world to remain within the nationality, to preserve the ties and to remain Lithuanian wherever they may be.

But how can this will be realized in the "melting pot" reality which is the lot of all

immigrants? How can the loyalty to one's native land be reconciled with loyalty to the new country? The problem can be solved without recourse to the "melting pot." And although the "melting pot" is the usual fate of the immigrant, it is an essentially futile solution. Futile from two points of view: that of the immigrant himself and that of this new country. For denationalization always implies despiritualization; all interests are reduced to the primitive drive for personal happiness; in fact this is equivalent to the stifling of all the profounder interests, for it involves abandoning all roots in the spiritual reality which is the respective national tradition. And in this manner, the country which gains this individual gains nothing more than mere "labor force." This "labor force" can be desirable and valuable as "raw material." Its social integration, however, always gives rise to problems. (It is not surprising that the question of personal and social adjustment, as well as juvenile delinquency, experiences its greatest intensity in the United States, which has frequently been identified with the "melting pot" approach).

The World Lithuanian Community is the expression of the Lithuanian determination to become acclimated not through passive submission, but through positive contribution of their culture to the country which has become their new homeland. This is determination to become integrated not through the loss of self, but through the preservation of one's self, and at the same time through the contribution of all that is valuable in the national tradition. This is the more difficult road, but it is certainly more fruitful. From the personal point of view, an individual, determined to follow this road, also chooses to face the tension between two cultures. In certain cases this

cultural tension may give rise to problems of adequate adjustment. At the same time, however, this determination enables the individual to integrate himself freely and creatively within the new country rather than blindly submerge in the "melting pot." All countries are worthy of respect and patriotic love. But love, which remains blind, is of little value. True love is never satisfied with that which is, for it is always accompanied by the search for new roads and the imperative of profounder ideals. All countries are worthy of being valued, but no country is the "Kingdom of God," the final perfection. And, therefore, those who can enrich the cultures of their new countries by means of their particular national heritage are always of greater value than those who lose themselves and feel that the adoption was successful, while in reality it only added to the masses which are equally international in their primitiveness. Freedom not to think, "peace of mind," Coca-Cola, portable radios, television crime stories and tasteless advertisements is **not** what America stands for; it means freedom of thought, the pioneering spirit, Emerson and James, Th. Wolfe and E. Hemingway, E. O'Neill and W. Faulkner. The same analogy is applicable to any other country. The acquisition of new customs and learning new language do not constitute complete integration. The loss of one's self is not necessary in this process. Everywhere it is possible to remain oneself and everywhere this is necessary in order that one's individuality could enrich others. In founding the World Lithuanian Community, the Lithuanians of the free world have determined not to succumb to the "melting pot," but to remain what they are and at the same time make their own valuable contribution.

J. Girnius



Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jonas Balikūnas
Chairman of the Organizational
Committee of the World Lith-
uanian Congress.

Photo by V. Maželis

CONGRESS: Exhibits, Concerts, Meetings...

During the World Lithuanian Congress, held on August 28-31 in New York City, a number of cultural events took place demonstrating creative efforts of Lithuanians in exile.

The vitality of Lithuanian art was displayed by a representative exhibition at the Riverside Museum, which opened August 28 and continued through September 21. Twenty-six participants from the United States, three from Canada, two from Australia and one each from France and South Africa (a total of thirty-three) exhibited 102 works of art.

The exhibition was favorably reviewed by the two leading dai-

lies: The New York Times and The New York Herald Tribune, as well as the periodicals Arts, Art News and others.

Stuart Preston, art critic of The New York Times, in his review "Opening Guns of Season" (Sept. 7) commented:

"Its breeding-ground having been swallowed up by the Soviet Union, Lithuanian art is an art of exile which, as the Riverside Museum's exhibition demonstrates, still manages to cling, consciously or not, to its roots. Most of the artists represented here studied either in France or in this country but, on the whole, their work has a flavor that can only be

considered national. This flavor, a literary one, takes the form of a poetic apprehension of human and nonhuman forces. It turns away from abstraction to illustrate, humorously or unhappily, the world and its ways, and always with a certain sense of uneasiness."

"Lithuanian artists appear to be particularly strong as print-makers and the graphic arts make up the best single department in the present show."

In the opinion of Mr. Preston, the outstanding artists were Paulius Augius, Albinas Elskus, Vytautas Jonynas, Petras Kiaulėnas,

Mykolas Paškevičius and Romas Viesulas.

The art critic of The New York Herald Tribune Carlyle Burroughs thought that Lithuanian art still maintained some of its specific mood, but the majority of the works exhibited clearly represented more modern and international styles rather than a narrow nationalism. Mr. Burroughs particularly notes A. Elskus, A. Galdikas, V.K. Jonynas, V. Kašuba and V. Petravičius.

On the occasion of the exhibition an illustrated catalogue was published, which contained an article by art critic A. Rannit on the evolution of Lithuanian art and some of the more famous artists. The publication also included a list of books and articles on Lithuanian art published in Lithuania, United States, France, Germany, Sweden and other European countries.

A chamber music concert was also presented at the Riverside Museum. Violinist I. Vasilūnas and pianist A. Kuprevičius were featured on the program.

Carnegie Hall was the site of a concert of choral music, which was performed by a joint choir, consisting of four separate musical ensembles from various locations on this continent. Soloists J. Kristolaitytė (soprano), A. Stempuzienė (mezzo soprano), A. Erazis (baritone) V. Salna (tenor) and the Symphony of the Air orchestra also participated in the program. The poem "Mano pasaulis" (My World) by the composer V. Jakubėnas may be considered as the highlight of the event. The spectators of the sold out auditorium enthusiastically applauded the better performed works.

During the congress, Hotel Statler, where all meetings were held, was the sight of an exhibition of Lithuanian books and periodicals. Between 1945 and 1949 a total of 884 publications appeared in Europe, while during the next eight years 1371 additional works were published throughout the free world. Of these 940 appeared in the United States, 254 in Europe, 28 in Argentina, 21 in Brazil, 69 in Canada, 39 in Australia and 20 in other countries. Obviously not all of these publications could have been placed on exhibition, but the representative sample shown was indicative of the creative efforts of Lithuanian writers.

STUDENTS MEET

On November 28-30, during the Thanksgiving recess, Lithuanian students from all parts of the United States gathered in Detroit, Mich., where the annual convention of the Lithuanian Student Association, Inc. was held. Of the more than six hundred registered members of the association two hundred attended the convention which took place at the Statler-Hilton Hotel. Most of the nonattending members were represented by proxy. The students met to discuss the problems confronting Lithuanian students in general as well as those of their association.

After the convention had been organized with the election of the presidium and several committees, it was opened by A. Mickevičius, president of the association. After his report other members of the Executive Committee talked on the different phases of activities of the association. The officers informed the attending members of the general standing of the association, the various plans for the future, the financial status and other aspects. They also reported on the specific work which has been accomplished thus far. Among these was the establishment of two new chapters since the last convention: one in Purdue, Ind., and the other in Kent, Ohio. Then representatives of local chapters gave reports on their activities.

In the afternoon of the first day Tomas Remeikis, doctoral candidate in political science, spoke on the character of the students in exile. His lecture was one of the highlights of the convention and was followed by stimulating discussions. Later a round table discussion took place on the activities of the association in which S. Milisauskas, G. Gedvila, S. Užgiris and moderator V. Valaitis participated. In the evening a get-acquainted dance was held at the same hotel.

On the occasion of the congress, the Lithuanian Community in the United States awarded a prize of \$1,000.00 donated by the Society of Lithuanian Physicians in Ohio, to the editors of the Lithuanian Encyclopedia, currently being published in Boston, Mass.

K. Ćk.

Further organizational matters took up the morning session of the second day of the convention. In the afternoon two lectures were presented. The first was by Mrs. A. Augustinavičienė on romanticism in Lithuanian art. Miss B. Bilevičiūtė, who has only recently left Lithuania, spoke on the life of students in Lithuania. She noted that conditions have improved only slightly since Stalin's death and still stand in grim contrast to the conditions of student life in the Western world.

Student representatives of the African and Arab Student Unions addressed the Convention in person. Numerous messages were received: among them from Vice-President R. Nixon and many senators and members of the House. Saturday evening the traditional banquet was held at the Main Ballroom of the Statler Hotel. On Sunday's afternoon session the convention was officially closed.

I. K.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION OF LITUANUS published four times a year at Brooklyn, New York, for October 1, 1958.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher Lithuanian Student Association, 916 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn 21, N. Y. Editor: K. Čerkešius, A. Landsbergis, G. Penikas, K. Skrupskelis, A. Staknienė. 916 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn 21, N. Y., Managing Editor P. V. Vyngantas, 916 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn 21, N. Y., Business Manager P. V. Vyngantas, 916 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn 21, N. Y.

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of October, 1958.

Isaac M. Schonhorn

Notary Public

My commission expires March 30, 1960

CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV

LITHUANIAN HISTORY AND POLITICAL RELATIONS

- The barbarian is at the gate. Editorial. IV, p. 65.
From the forgotten to the forgetful. Editorial. IV, p. 1-2.
Krivickas, Domas. The International Status of Lithuania. Bibliography. IV, p. 99-104.
Mažiulis, Antanas. Lithuanian ethnographical studies, a survey of ethnographical museums and societies. Bibliography. IV, p. 76-9.
Padvaiskas, Edmund R. Agriculture under Soviet control. Bibliography. IV, p. 109-112.
Rastenis, Vincas. Lithuania in 1958, an outside glance at some aspects of her life. IV, p. 34-7.
Trumpa, Vincas. Some aspects of the Baltic area problem. Bibliography. IV, p. 11-15.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

- Aspects of Co-existence. Editorial. IV, p. 97-98.
Cirtautas, K.C. Refugees: idealistic and utilitarian. (Excerpt from *The Refugee* by K. C. Cirtautas). IV, p. 57-9.
Cultural exchange: a balance sheet. Editorial. IV, p. 33.
Doniela, Vytautas. A philosophy of the closed mind: some thoughts on Communism. IV, p. 105-108.
Sidzikauskas, Vaclovas. Soviet colonialism, social and cultural aspects. IV, p. 66-73.
Skrupskelis, Kęstutis. Imperialism — a higher form of Communism. Bibliography. IV, p. 3-7.
Šmulkštys, Julius. The Marxian concept of democracy. Bibliography. IV, p. 38-40.

LITHUANIAN MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

- A recital. IV, p. 63.
Kudirka, Vincas. Lithuanian National Anthem. Words and music. IV, p. 123.
Simutis, Leonard J. Music during the years of independence. IV, p. 16-21.

LITHUANIAN ART AND ARTISTS

- Artists honored. IV, p. 62.
Brown, Gordon. Petras Kiaulėnas and the art of modern color. Illustrated. IV, p. 113-118.
Jurkus, Paulius. The art of Telesforas Valius. Illustrated. IV, p. 47-51.
Rannit, Aleksis. V. K. Jonynas, a master of wood engravings. Illustrated. IV, p. 80-6.
Vorobiovas, Mikalojus. The artist M.V. Dobujinsky. Tr. by. P.W. Urban. Illustrated. IV, p. 21-4.

LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE

- Klimas, Antanas. Lithuanian and Latin. IV, p. 73-4.
Klimas, Antanas. Lithuanian and the Germanic languages. IV, p. 41-6.

LITHUANIAN LITERATURE AND AUTHORS

- Literary prizes in 1958. IV, p. 63.
Kaupas, Julius. A new Lithuanian play has premiere in Chicago. IV, p. 62.
Kaupas, Julius. Our literature in exile. IV, p. 87-92.
Sietynas, Andrius. Antanas škėma. Portrait. IV, p. 52.
Trumpa, Vincas. Dawn of free criticism in Soviet Lithuanian literature. IV, p. 126-129.
Writers of Lithuania: Juozas Grušas. IV, p. 25.

LITERATURE

- Grušas, Juozas. Fairer than the sun. Short story. IV, p. 26-30.
Škėma, Antanas. Primeval Lithuania. (Excerpt from novel *Keltas*). IV, p. 53.
Škėma, Antanas. Three songs of the Celesta. Tr. by J.Z. (From "*Celesta*" a collection of poems in prose). IV, p. 54-5.

BOOK REVIEWS

- Šapoka, A. Lithuania Minor. IV, 130-131.
Vyantas, P.V. An important problem of our age. (Review of K.C. Cirtautas *The Refugee*), IV, p. 59-61.

BIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- The death of Bishop K. Paltarokas. Portrait. IV, p. 30-31.
Maciūnas, Vincas. Vincas Kudirka. Portrait. IV, p. 119-123.
Skrupskelis, Kęstutis. Two fliers: Darius and Girėnas. Portrait. IV, p. 93-5.
Sužiedėlis, Simas. Knight on a white steed, 500 anniversary of the birth of St. Casimir. Illustrated. IV, p. 8-10.

LITHUANIAN LIFE AND ACTIVITIES IN U. S.

- Gečiauskas, A. Study days. IV, p. 63-4.
Congress: Exhibits, Concerts, Meetings. IV, 134-135.
Kezys, Romas. National Jamboree. IV, p. 96.
Lithuanian sports' festival. IV, p. 96.
Lithuanian students' memorandum. IV p. 31-2.
Rimkaitis, S. Congress of Lithuanian-Americans. IV, p. 95.
Students meet. IV, p. 135.
The World Lithuanian Community. IV, p. 131-133.



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by A. Vaičiulaitis. 1942, Chicago, 54 p. \$0.50

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